

The History of Civilization  
*Edited by C. K. OGDEN, M.A.*

The World of Hesiod

# The History of Civilization

Edited by C. K. OGDEN, M.A.

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# THE WORLD OF HESIOD

A STUDY OF THE GREEK MIDDLE AGES  
*c. 900—700 B.C.*

**CHECKED - 1963**

By

ANDREW ROBERT BURN

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Scholar of Christ Church. Author of  
*Minoans, Philistines, and Greeks*

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*To*

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## PREFACE

*THIS book is an attempt to answer the question what manner of men the Greeks were, before they launched out on that momentous process of change which leads to Ionian rationalism and to the civilization of Athens. Such an inquiry is a necessary preliminary to any study of the great change itself that is to have its foundations firm, and therefore, however laborious, is abundantly worth making. The sources also, though scattered, are by no means so scanty as is sometimes supposed: and if our period has little of the glamour of the Heroic Age or Minoan Decline and Fall, or of the brilliant Lyric Age which was to follow, yet Hesiod and the Geometric potters and painters are company by no means to be despised.*

*The book is thus a continuation, in some sort, of the author's Minoans, Philistines, and Greeks. It is more intimately connected with a study of the Lyric Age itself, with its storms and revolutions, economic, political and social—an age not less brilliant and not less momentous for all future generations than any other in the history of mankind—which study, begun some years ago, has been interrupted as I realized more fully the need for this preliminary work on the Greek "middle ages". Some good work on Greece has been coloured and to some extent vitiated by a too facile acceptance of traditional or a priori views on "primitive" Greece—a phrase which, as applied to the world of Hesiod, has practically no meaning at all. If I have expressed definite views in these pages on such topics as magic, the limitation of individualism in the Hesiodic age, or changes in custom relating to sexual relations or blood-guilt between the Heroic and late Geometric periods, I can only plead that they have been formed after a patient scrutiny of the evidence; that not many years ago I was quite innocent of any dogmatically-held views on most of these subjects; and that such views as I did hold (at second hand) I have often found reason to change.*

## PREFACE

*I have attempted, then, to give a systematic and documented introduction to the evidence on this important subject, a subject which to the best of my knowledge has not been so treated hitherto.*

*If however there has not previously existed such a general introductory survey of pre-Renaissance Greek society, there has been no lack of learned and encyclopædic studies of parts of our subject; indeed without the work of many recently dead or still living scholars, especially their work in collecting and arranging the scattered evidence, this book could not have been written, at least by its present author. Among the great works of the last forty years which have been extensively quarried for our present purpose, debts must be acknowledged first, on Greek religion and magic, to The Golden Bough; to Dr. L. R. Farnell's Cults of the Greek States; and to Miss Harrison's Themis and Prolegomena to Greek Religion. Without necessarily accepting all of Miss Harrison's views, every student must needs acknowledge that she drew attention to real elements in Greek religion which had previously been neglected. So too, on early Greek customary law, my debt is obvious, even though I have at times criticized his views, to M. Glotz' Solidarité de la famille en Grèce; and further to two famous older books, Maine's Ancient Law and Fustel de Coulanges' La cité antique. With these I cannot fail to name one more recent work, Professor H. J. Rose's Primitive Culture in Greece, a short book, which for combined learning, lightness, and sanity of judgment, can rarely have been equalled in anthropological writing. These pages are indebted to it as much as to any single book. Our purpose differs to this extent, that while Professor Rose sets out to discuss those survivals of a pre-rational culture that amuse and intrigue the reader of classical Greek literature, the object of this book, as aforesaid, is to give an account of the pre-rational and pre-classical culture as it was in its own day. But since the publication of Primitive Culture in Greece it is at least no longer necessary for any writer to spend time discussing the alleged Greek evidence for matriarchy, totemism, and marriage by capture.*

*On the general theory of the rise and fall of civilizations, discussed in my first chapter apropos of the Minoan collapse,*

*my debt will be obvious, to Toynbee's Study of History and Whitehead's Adventures of Ideas. For Hesiod, I made much use of T. A. Sinclair's edition of the Works and Days and Evelyn-White's edition and translation of the poems and fragments, in the Loeb Library. On the psychology of magic, I found much that was stimulating in J. C. W. Dougall's Characteristics of African Thought and perhaps even more in Köhler's Mentality of Apes. To the influence of Marx and Freud, which I have felt both directly and indirectly, one need do no more than refer ; their work is part of the common heritage of our own and all succeeding generations. Few of us perhaps are disposed to accept all the conclusions of either, unreservedly ; but to the value of some of their leading ideas, even their severest critics constantly pay involuntary tribute.*

*Two books which I have used with interest, but of which I must write with more reserve, are Hasebroek's Griechische Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte and Licht's Sexual Life in Ancient Greece. Both writers are capable of overstating a case ; and in both, it is desirable to look up the references carefully, since they do not invariably prove all that the text implies. Licht's book is also characterized by a reckless use of a late though learned writer, the Alexandrian, Athenaios, who lived amid the senile decay of the ancient world, under the Roman Empire, and had a thirst not only for knowledge in general but for sexual scandal about historical personages in particular. The value of Athenaios' information on this as on most subjects is, of course, simply that of his sources, which, to do him justice, he usually names ; but he quotes early poets, serious historians, scandal from the Middle Comedy, and gossipy Hellenistic biographies of the twentieth-century "debunking" type, all with equal relish and apparently with equal credulity. It appears not to be generally realized what a high proportion of the more scandalous pieces of information about early Greece, familiar to the learned world of to-day chiefly from the "collected fragments" of early Greek historians or lyric poets, is derived from two books of Athenaios. We should form a perceptibly higher opinion of the moral tone of early Greece if it had happened that we had lost as little as some*

## PREFACE

twenty pages of the passage περὶ παλαιᾶς τρυφῆς from the beginning of the twelfth book of the *Deipnosophistai*. There can be little doubt that those passages from the lost writers of early Greece, which happened to mention sexual irregularities, are, thanks to Athenaios, considerably over-represented among the surviving fragments.

Another ancient writer who must be used with care as evidence for classical Greek ideas on all social and political questions is no less a figure than Plato. This I should not have thought it worth while to mention, were it not that even so great a scholar as M. Glotz has fallen into the trap, and uses Plato as evidence for a surviving feeling in classical Greece in favour of the solidarité de la famille. It is surely clear that Plato, at least in his middle and later years, disgruntled and disgusted with Athenian democracy, with the commercial civilization of his day, with representationalism in art and with "modern" music, and in favour of "Byzantine" (i.e. Egyptian) art, religious intolerance, the totalitarian state and the Inquisition -- Plato is on most matters excellent evidence for what the ordinary Athenian did not think.

In my sixth and longest chapter I survey the Greek world of the pre-colonization epoch from the external point of view conventional with historians of this period : it is only possible to give what is little more than a sketch of political geography. I may perhaps be criticized, especially in the Peloponnesian sections, for repeating the accounts of early wars given by Strabo and Pausanias on the authority, it may be presumed, of Ephoros and other fourth-century historians. I would defend this procedure on the ground that a historian should follow his sources closely unless he has positive grounds for rejecting one account in favour of another. The merely negative fact that we do not know what sources Ephoros had, and have some reason to mistrust his critical austerity (but not his honesty), is not sufficient reason for suppressing in favour of complete silence (the only alternative) the only account that we have. All we do know about Ephoros is that he had much more early Greek poetry and prose before him than we have. In the circumstances, all one can do is to repeat Pausanias, with due mental

reservations, and leave the reader, who may in the future have new archaeological evidence before him, to accept, reject, or suspend judgment. (The same applies even to Nikolaos' historical romance of the Inn-keeper King and the Brigand Kerses.) No name stands more deservedly high among those of living historians of Greece than that of Dr. K. J. Beloch, for critical brilliance and a scepticism that is often wholly salutary ; but there are times when one is tempted to say that Dr. Beloch believes nothing in Greek history except the parts that he has made up himself.

The covering of the ground first socially and then geographically has led to a few cases of repetition. It has seemed to me best not to attempt to prune them away, feeling that to do so would probably make the book less easy to use for purposes of reference.

Finally, in the last chapter I discuss the seafaring of the Dark Ages and the respective importance, in stimulating Greek colonization, of trade and the desire for land. I owed little in this section to any one modern source ; but was glad to discover, when the chapter was half written, that my views, formed chiefly from study of the Hesiodic fragments and other literary sources, were in substantial agreement with those of Mr. A. A. Blakeway, doctissimi viri, formed primarily on the archaeological evidence.

As regards the spelling of Greek names, I can see no reason for presenting them in a Latin disguise which, reasonable enough for the Romans, for whom it accurately represented the Greek sounds, has no such justification in a book written in English. Very familiar names are, of course, best left in what has become their English form : Plutarch, Crete, Corinth, etc. ; even, as a concession to public opinion, Thucydides. How familiar a name must be, if not Anglicized in spelling, can hardly be decided by any general rule : surely most Hellenists would rather see Aeschylus displaced by the more euphanious Aischylos. It only remains to hope that this modest compilation may be useful, both to the student of Greek history, who wishes to secure his foundations, and to the comparative anthropologist who may wish to verify some of the sweeping statements often made about "the Greeks". The Greekless reader will not find much of that language to trouble him in the text.



LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE  
FOOTNOTES

- Aelian, *V.H.* == *Miscellanies, Varia Historica.*  
*A.J.A.* == *American Journal of Archaeology.*  
*A.P.* == *Greek Anthology, Anthologia Palatina.*  
 Ap. Rhod. == Apollonios of Rhodes.  
 Apollod. == Apollodoros.  
 Ar., *Birds* (etc.) = Aristophanes.  
 Ar., *Politics* (etc) == Aristotle.  
 Ar., *Ath. Pol.* == Aristotle, 'Αθηναίων Πολιτεῖα, *Constitution of Athens*.  
 Ar., *Lak. Pol.* == Aristotle, Λακεδαιμονίων Πολιτεῖα, *Constitution of Sparta*.  
 Ath. == Athenaios.  
*B.S.A.* == *Annual of the British School at Athens.*  
*C.A.H.* == *Cambridge Ancient History.*  
*C.I.A.* == *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum.*  
*C.I.G.* == *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.*  
 D.H. == Dionysios of Halikarnassos.  
 Dittenberger<sup>3</sup> == 3rd edition of his *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*.  
 D.L. == Diogenes Laertios.  
 D.S. == Diodorus of Sicily.  
*F.H.G.* == *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum.*  
*G.B.<sup>3</sup>* == 3rd edition of *The Golden Bough*.  
*G.G.* == Beloch's *Griechische Geschichte*.  
 Hdt. == Herodotos.  
*H.H.* == Homeric *Hymns*.  
*I.G.* == *Inscriptiones Graecae*.  
*Ili.* == *Iliad*.  
*Isthm.* == Pindar's *Isthmian Odes*.  
*J.H.S.* == *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.  
*J.R.A.I.* == *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*.  
*J.R.S.* == *Journal of Roman Studies*.  
*Mon. Ant.* == *Monumenti Antichi*.  
*N.D.* == Nikolaos of Damascus.  
*N.H.* == the elder Pliny's *Natural History*.  
*N.S.* == *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*.  
*Od.* == *Odyssey*.  
*Ot.* == Pindar's *Olympian Odes*.  
*O.P.* == *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.  
 Paus. == Pausanias.  
 Plut., *Mor.* == Plutarch, *Moralia*.  
 Plut., *Q.G.* == Plutarch's *Greek Questions, Quaestiones Graecae*.  
 Plut., *Q.R.* == *Quaestiones Romanae*.  
 Polyb. == Polybios.  
*Pyth.* == Pindar's *Pythian Odes*.  
 Σ. == Scholiast.  
 S.B. == Stephanos of Byzantium.  
 Sk. == the geographical poem formerly attributed to Skymnos of Chios.  
 Str. == Strabo.  
 Thk. == Thucydides.  
*Theog.* == Hesiod's *Theogony*.  
 Tod. == M. N. Tod's *Greek Historical Inscriptions*.  
*W.D.* == Hesiod's *Works and Days*.  
 Xen., *Anab.* == Xenophon's *Anabasis*.  
 Xen., *Hell.* == Xenophon's *Greek History, Hellenica*.



# THE WORLD OF HESIOD

## CHAPTER I

### THE MYCENÆAN LEGACY

GREEK civilization rises on the basis of a “medieval” society of peasants and nobles, who tilled their land and very seldom travelled far afield. There was a “time of troubles” in the background; an age in which a far more brilliant society had foundered amid storms and bloodshed. This decline of a civilization is clearly attested by the evidence of archaeology, and has profoundly affected the more thoughtful minds of the new age. There is old Hesiod’s sad mythology of the Five Ages: the hard Iron Age, in which we live, has succeeded a less evil Bronze Age; in Hesiod’s conception, as indeed in fact, the Age of the Heroes, who fought the great wars of Thebes and Troy, comes anomalously in between. Hesiod, and perhaps other men, inferred that if one could look farther back one would come to still nobler ages corresponding to the nobler metals: a Silver Age before the Bronze, and at the very beginning an Age of Gold, the primitive Age of Innocence, when people lived on what the earth brought forth of herself and did not have to work hard and practise agriculture.<sup>1</sup> And in Homer, too, there is that conviction of degeneracy: “Two men could scarcely have raised that stone from the ground—such as men now are—but Hector lifted and hurled it.”<sup>2</sup> And even within the Heroic Age itself, old Nestor reminds the chieftains that they would be no match for the men who were in their prime when he was young.<sup>3</sup>

This conviction of degeneracy was not based solely on the common feeling that the younger men are *always* a decadent lot. Homer and Hesiod had some justification for their feeling that the world had got worse, or, as we

<sup>1</sup> *Works and Days*, 110 ff., cf. 43 ff. and 91.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* xii, 447 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Il.* i, 260 ff.

should put it, that civilization had declined. Archaeologists find that after the splendours of imperial Knossos and Mykenai, the succeeding sub-Mycenaean Age is the poorest in all the history of Aegean civilization.<sup>1</sup> Everywhere there are the signs of war and catastrophe. Weapons and armour have improved with ominous rapidity. The great palaces have been burned with fire. There are no more of the rich and magnificent royal burials of the Bronze Age – presumably because there are no more such wealthy and magnificent kings.

Hesiod knew this perfectly well, when he compared his own Iron-age civilization with what he could read in Homer about the past. Our ancestors shared in the great feudal empire or confederacy of Agamemnon. Their chiefs were clad in purple and fine linen and fared sumptuously every day. They had ivory and amber, and drank from silver and gold. They carried their arms as far as Egypt<sup>2</sup> and Troy, and were “sackers of cities” on a national scale. Nowadays our wars are mere border-raids, our affairs parochial. Kings are still with us; you have to bribe them if you go to law; but they too are mere local chiefs. There are no more great monarchs like Agamemnon of Mykenai, or before him Minos, the sea-king of Crete.

However, by no means everything had been lost in the wreck. The inheritance of the Hellenic civilization from its forerunners was very important, and goes far to explain how it was able to surpass them to support a so much greater superstructure of art and thought, of leisure or of activity that brought in no immediate return in material goods.

It was, in the first place, a heritage of technique.<sup>3</sup>

As compared with his predecessor at the beginning of the Minoan period, the Greek villager of Hesiod's time enjoys, first of all, a greatly improved metallurgy; especially, as a legacy of the recent troublous age, the efficient working of

<sup>1</sup> On this, cf. Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae*, pp. 109, 230, 240, etc.

<sup>2</sup> With the great sea-raids on Egypt known to us from Egyptian records, cf. the story in *Od.* xiv, 190–350.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Casson's observations in *The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture*.

iron. The knowledge of iron, by equipping the semi-civilized inhabitants of the ironstone countries in Central Europe and in Asia Minor with weapons superior to those of the more civilized Aegeans, Mesopotamians, and Egyptians, had played a destructive part in the recent disasters ; but now that the whole eastern Mediterranean region had been reduced to one uniform low level of prosperity, that knowledge could be applied to constructive tasks too. Iron could make better axes for wood-cutting and tools for the construction of ships or houses. The iron-shod plough could drive deeper into the earth, and thereby make stonier soil "possible" than of old, and rich soil more productive.<sup>1</sup> And therewith the world of Hesiod had also good masonry, and good pottery, important the one for defence and the other for storage. It was in earthenware, in the big barrel-shaped *pithoi* of which we may see earlier examples in the great magazines of Knossos, that Hesiod and his friends kept their wine and oil and water, their food and seed-corn, both on their farms and when travelling on the sea. They practised also a serviceable and quite elaborate mixed farming. They had several kinds of grain ; the vine, and the all-important olive, much hymned of Greek poets, the source of their equivalents for our soap and butter and artificial light ; the cow, the pig, the goat, the sheep and the sheep-dog, the donkey, and also the horse, introduced during the Bronze Age. The horse, in Greece, as well as elsewhere, was for a long time the beast of war rather than of peace ; but from him was bred the mule, who could be very useful in more peaceful matters, for timber-hauling, or dragging their heavy springless waggons at a better pace than the "shambling" ox. There were those who said that mules were far better than oxen for ploughing, too.<sup>2</sup> Finally, in

<sup>1</sup> First reference to the "shepherd or ploughman" as needing iron, *Il.* xxiii, 881-5. Iron sickles, *Works and Days*, 387. Hesiod does not mention metal ploughshares (or "shoes" for the wooden plough), but this does not prove that they were unknown. His work does not attempt to be complete ; e.g. he never mentions olive-culture, though he mentions olive oil.

<sup>2</sup> Timber-hauling, *Il.* xxiii, 111-121 ; mule-waggon (Nausikaa and the washing), *Od.* vi, 71 ff. ; mules ploughing, *Il.* x, 351-3.

the service of this farming, they had a useful knowledge of astronomy. It was probably the chief service to his fellows performed immediately by Hesiod's *Works and Days*, to spread abroad this star-lore, making sure that the careful farmer could always, as he is never tired of telling us, get his tasks begun in good time and in due season.

The legacy of the earlier age to Hellenism included also a spiritual element, embodied in the splendid poetry of Homer ; and here we pass from normal economic development to the more elusive and unpredictable element in history. The influence of Homer upon the whole course of later Hellenism is a deeply interesting example of the “adventures of ideas”, in Whitehead's phrase : of the way in which ideas born of man's brain in particular circumstances may survive in a work of literature to act as a solvent and a stimulus under entirely different social conditions. So, some parts of the pagan classical literature were preserved by medieval Christendom, Western and Byzantine. There were things in it of which official Christendom could scarcely approve but, for the sake of what was deemed valuable, the churchmen tolerated and even encouraged its preservation ; and so, through Plato and Aristotle, through Cicero and through the pagan poets, the pagan spirit (if one may be pardoned for using without defining this term) was enabled to survive. There was much in the old literature, of which the fathers of the church always felt doubtful, fearing its bad influence both on morals and orthodoxy ; but the attacks with which it was constantly threatened never came to anything—unless there is truth in Chalkondyles' story that the eastern church did destroy the Greek lyric poets by deliberate attack. In the west, Ovid, whom we could have better spared, survived. The pagan literature was too dearly loved. It appealed too strongly to human sentiments that were not a whit the more absent from medieval man, because they were to some extent in abeyance in literature of which the church approved ; and in the end it supplied forms of thought and the basis of a heretical or neo-pagan humanist philosophy to the Italian Renaissance, in an age in which

social changes were once more prompting men to take an unscholastic interest in the material and temporal world.

In like manner, the Greek epics survived strictly on their merits as poetry and as story-telling ; and therewith survived what may be loosely called the Homeric philosophy : a view of the gods and a view of man ; a flippant Ovidian attitude toward the gods, surviving in what we shall see to have been a deeply religious society, and a magnificent individualism in a society that was close-knit and non-individualist : Homer's conception of the Hero.

It is worth while to consider in detail the social antecedents of the Greek epic, that poetry whose charm has been upon the West, directly or indirectly, for three thousand years.

To call it " primitive " does not take us very far. A modern writer says that whatever poets may come after him, no one can ever deprive Homer of his privilege of being the first. True enough, but though he will remain the earliest European poet known to posterity (and he probably lived in Asia), he quite clearly was not the first in his own day. The poems are full of references to earlier poetry and minstrelsy ; the poet of the *Odyssey* appeals to the Muse " Sing to me *also . . .*" and remarks incidentally that people always prefer the latest. One of the few generally agreed points in discussion of the " Homeric question " is that our *Iliad* and *Odyssey* represent the culmination, not the beginnings, of a period of poetic development. As for saying that " the world was young then ", or the like, that might have been sense in the days of our great-grandfathers, but now that we find reason to believe that the genus man has an antiquity of half a million or a million years, the phrase is a mere sentimental and unmeaning cliché. Even civilization was no new thing then. In Homer's time (if he lived in the ninth century, as Herodotus believed), the Great Pyramid was already nearly twice as old as any of our English cathedrals is in the year 1936. Ur of the Chaldees was as old as Rome is now. The fall of Knossos, soon after 1400 B.C., was an event as remote from him as the battle of Agincourt from us, and the history of the wars and dynasties of the five hundred years between

had shrunk in the knowledge even of epic poets to a collection of romantic stories, intermingled with myth, and commonly believed all to have taken place in a period of about three generations. The period from Homer's time to our own, including the whole history of human thought since Thales, is to the probable age of man as two or three minutes' drowsiness before full waking are to the length of the night.

Nor will it suffice to account for Homer's wonderful freshness by calling it barbaric. The world has known many barbarians, but only one Homer; and also Homer has in him a refinement and delicacy of description and feeling worthy of the best Minoan art.

We strike a more promising scent when we embark on a comparative study of "heroic ages", comparing Homeric society with that depicted in sundry other epics of the Aryan-speaking peoples and finding an astonishing resemblance—the same military and chivalrous conventions, the same form of state, the same richly adorned and swaggering poetic diction—in the epics of Beowulf, of the Ulster cycle, of the Southern Slavs; much that is reminiscent also in the *Mahabharata* or the prose sagas of the north. If none of these is the equal of Homer, they are cast in a similar mould.

What is surprising in Homer and marks him off from what little we can learn of early post-Homeric Greeks is—next to the sheer greatness of his genius—his *emancipation*. His heroes are emancipated, for good and for ill, from almost all restraints, human and divine. Socially, they are individualists. Land is freely transferred.<sup>1</sup> The loyalty of their warriors is individual likewise, the loyalty of *hetairoi*, house-carls, to their master; it is not social and patriotic.<sup>2</sup> And their religion, in so far as they have one, is humanistic. The gods have become persons, with their own stories and their own adventures; they may be angered by a personal affront, but there are few traces of their giving any heed

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 110 ff., below.

<sup>2</sup> So also in *Beowulf*, a hero fights for his lord rather than for his fellow-tribesmen and the Shardana, within the early iron age in the eastern Mediterranean, are perfectly willing to fight for Egyptian Pharaohs against Shardana sea-raiders.

to breaches of social taboo or moral law. Nothing is more striking in Homer than the morality of the heroes ; it is secularized to a degree scarcely to be paralleled in any ancient culture west of China and even, to a great extent, *internalized*. It is based on no penal law or divine sanction, but partly on *nemesis*, meaning not what it meant later, but the righteous indignation of men—sometimes Homer simply says “what people will say,” *φάτος ἀνδρῶν*,<sup>1</sup>—and, partly, simply on conscience, *aidos*, the “sense of honour” within him, that often prevents a Homeric hero from doing even what all custom and public opinion granted him the right to do.<sup>2</sup>

As for magic, we shall see that there is hardly a trace of it in all the length of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.<sup>3</sup>

Such emancipation, however, is by no means the characteristic of a savage ; and individualism still less.

The charm of Homer arises from two other qualities : his freshness and his high spirits. The delight with which he describes in detail any action, from the most exciting to the most trivial, has been compared to that of a child describing its first party. How Patroklos killed Pyraichmes, how Telemachos dressed himself, the beautiful manners of all his chiefs except the greedy suitors—all receive the same delighted description. What has the word “Homeric” come to mean but this uncloyed pleasure ?—delight in the splendour of gold and silver, in the movements of animals, in the sky and sea, in food and drink, in the strength of one’s limbs, and in rest after labour. It is true, there is an undercurrent of pity and deep melancholy ; but of that hereafter.

Something of the same freshness and joy in things appears also in those epics of other nations that experts have thought most comparable with Homer. What, then, are the conditions under which so many peoples, kindred but by no means identical in their heredity, often in very different environments, have produced poetry that has so much in common ?

In every case this type of poetry depicts an age of wars : “and with the sword followed the song.” But not every

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* xxi, 323.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. pp. 44 f., 89.

war, surely, could be found so thrilling, even by an uncivilized European people, as to inspire the Homeric *joie-de-vivre*? War is a breaker-up of societies; hence perhaps Homer's emancipation. But if so, whence the delight in this world that is so much more noticeable than Homer's melancholy?

A good suggestion of the answer is given in the definition of a Heroic Age as one in which barbarians have taken possession of a higher civilization and are breaking it up. This does not cover the case of the Serbian epics; at the field of Kossovo, it was the Serbian chivalry that went down. But it does cover several of the heroic ages that scholars have studied. Those of the Germans and of the Kelts of Ireland are contemporary with the fall of the Roman Empire. (Irish raiders as well as Saxons played a part in the destruction of Roman Britain.) And Homer's own age is certainly a case in point. Homer's Achaeans are clearly the barbarian Greeks who took possession of the Minoan civilization in its latest phase, when weakened by internal dissension, but still splendid enough to be very exciting to their eyes. Hence the Heroes' emancipation. They have learned to despise alike the taboos observed by their untutored forefathers and those of the defeated and discredited Minoans. They have left their log-huts for Aegean palaces, and have left the old tribal restraints and superstitions behind them, too. It is in the pride of their new wealth and power and their new freedom that they reach the "Homeric" outlook upon the world. Their delight in fine art as well as their perception of the beauty of nature (not in the sophisticated romantic spirit, but as a setting for the achievements of man) is stimulated by the contact with Minoan painting and metal-work. And all this power and wealth has been won by the sword and may be increased by the sword. "Cattle may be had for the reiving," says Achilles. War is the work for a chieftain, and Achilles chooses a short life with military glory rather than a quiet age without a name.

Hence the continual fighting by which the Achaian civilization is doomed to self-destruction; and hence an

important "conclusion of the whole matter": Greece inherits something from the earlier civilization which no society could discover for itself. The character of the Hero, brave, generous, chivalrous by starts, sensitive and self-centred, as portrayed in a dozen characters by Homer, gave to Greece for ever a conception of the vividness and beauty that human life can have; and Homer gave also those humanized gods which thoughtful Greeks, with the best will in the world, could never find truly worshipful. Hence much of Greek philosophy. But it is hard to see how Greece could have received the conception of the Hero save by the existence, and not only the existence but the destruction, of an earlier civilization. Without entering *suddenly* into unfettered possession of a high material civilization, the Achaian princes could not have achieved their "Homeric" joy in life and pride in individual brilliance. But on the other hand it was, humanly speaking, a foregone conclusion that barbarian European chiefs thus suddenly emancipated, perpetually tempted to seize other men's treasures by force, and forced to defend their own, would develop a taste for fighting that could only end in mutual destruction.

Such a continual state of war, and delight in war, could scarcely arise in a state of primitive poverty. The object of war is to take other men's property or land or to prevent their taking yours; but war caused merely by overcrowding would have little of the exhilarating quality of an act of successful piracy. Hence warlike peoples—as opposed to men who will fight when pushed to it—are not a primitive phenomenon. They are predatory on comparatively high states of civilization, as carnivora are on herbivorous animals. A warlike society ultimately destroys itself; but—given the poetic genius—something of value may be discovered in the process. A warlike people may become remarkably free from the taboos that hedge a peasant people round<sup>1</sup>; and in the Aegean the conflicting forces, between barbarian hammer and Minoan anvil, struck out the fire of Homer. The whole process might serve as an excellent example of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. pp. 44 ff., 89 ff.

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the Hegelian and Marxist "dialectic of history : thesis and antithesis, Aegean civilization and its barbarian destroyers, producing at last the greater synthesis of Hellenism.

It is worth while now to trace the stages of the fall of that earliest European civilization that ended in the Homeric Age.

All civilizations up to the present have been based on great social inequalities ; necessarily, since the means of production, the agricultural and industrial technique at man's disposal, have never in the past admitted of any but a poor standard of life for all, if resources were shared equally. Where, for any reason, social inequalities developed, there alone there was a chance for the accumulation of treasures, for art on a grand scale, and for thinking ahead - granted the capacity--beyond the peasant's necessary work of the next few days. There is leisure, in fact, first for a few priests or magicians, priest-kings, and medicine-kings, and their servants, supported by the labour of the rest of the community. This social organization makes possible the water-works of Mesopotamia and Egypt, and from these societies arise Sumerian and Egyptian art, reaching a stage of cancerous hypertrophy in some of the great ziggurats (the "Tower of Babel") and the Egyptian pyramids.

But the accumulation of precious things, or of stores of grain to last many days, will arouse the envy of one's poorer neighbours. Even if the peasants within the land are contented with the splendours of "their" king and "their" gods, still there are impious barbarians outside. If there is corn in Egypt in time of famine, the king must be prepared to defend his granaries, or starving hordes will plunder his stores recklessly instead of begging food as an act of grace. Hence every king, except the "medicine-kings" of savage tribes, must be a man of war. But war, for all its origin in defence—warding or guardianship, *guerre* or *mehr*—easily develops into the sport of kings ; it comes naturally to man, man the hunter, the carnivorous and predatory beast. Kingdoms forced to become warlike in defence often become predatory when the need for defence

has passed. Assyria is an example; so is the warlike Egypt of the Eighteenth Dynasty, after the expulsion of the Hyksos barbarians. Mykenai, founded as an outpost of civilization in Greece, is probably a third.

Now up to a point war under ancient conditions might lead to a higher material civilization. If a conquering king, in Mesopotamia or in Crete, unites many of the old petty kingdoms under his sway, he will be able to keep a more splendid court than has been seen before; and, granted the organizing ability, the whole land, with its forces under one head instead of a dozen, will be more secure against external or internal commotion than before, and better able to take measures against famine. But beyond a certain, or rather an *uncertain* point, the process leads not to increased strength but to weakness. In a large, centralized monarchy, fewer people may feel keenly interested in the maintenance of the present order than when there were many local lordships. The king and court are in more danger of being thoroughly out of touch with the peasants, and may alienate feeling by hard and unsympathetic taxation, by unwise severity, or by sheer lust and greed.

This stage had apparently been reached by the Cretan monarchy in the Second Late Minoan period, the fifteenth century B.C. It is noticeable that whereas there are many remains of what seem to be the palaces of local priest-kings in central and eastern Crete dating from the Middle Minoan Age, in the Late Minoan there is none to compare with Knossos, and even the palace at Phaistos may be merely the southern residence of Knossian kings. The Second Late Minoan art style, indeed—which sets in about the year 1500—seems to be practically confined to Knossos itself; it is indeed, as it is sometimes called, the “Great Palace Style” in its fullest development. Elsewhere, “L.M. I” continues, and is the last style of Minoan art before its decline.

Other things confirm our impression of a centralized monarchy in Crete: the huge size of the city of Knossos, containing, Evans believes, lodgings for hardly less than a hundred thousand souls; the quantity of the unread

documents in the palace archives; most of all, the fact that the city was entirely unwalled, evidently secure behind its fleet and able to dismiss the idea of war within the island as unthinkable.

And yet the crash came with great suddenness; and though the palace was restored after its destruction and inhabited again, it never rose to its old splendour, and the whole history of the long Third Late Minoan period that follows is, both as regards art and material security, the history of a steady and unbroken decline. Sir Arthur Evans believes that the palace was overthrown by an earthquake, followed by "an uprising of submerged elements within the island"; but Knossos had been shattered by earthquakes before, without destroying in its fall the whole growing-power of a civilization. It is evident that Minoan society had reached a state where it was particularly vulnerable by one heavy blow. Concentration of power and wealth has made the social pyramid over-tall and dangerously unstable; very much as in Karl Marx's vision of the nemesis of modern capitalism. Whether they came from within or without the island, the plunderers of the palace of Knossos could take possession of the products of the art of "L.M. II", but could not or did not wish to carry on its culture.

Professor Toynbee in his *Study of History* emphasizes as one of the symptoms of mortality in a civilization its failure any longer to assimilate parts of its proletariat—either its internal proletariat, or what he well calls its external proletariat, the barbarians outside its gates. What this means, reduced to concrete and individual terms, may be seen from examples drawn from the period with which we are dealing. The Homeric chief, like Odysseus, in an age when there are many little independent kings, is himself a skilled ploughman and carpenter; he can work with his men, and is often present in person at least to supervise them, like the king among his reapers on the Shield of Achilles. In such an age it might well be the ordinary man's ideal to be as like the king and his immediate Companions, the *Heleiroi*, as possible. On the other hand the legends of Minos (who

does represent, in all probability, the fifteenth-century kings of Knossos<sup>1)</sup> represent him as a remote and august person, the familiar friend of God, a great conqueror, and a just judge; and yet in spite of these great qualities, the general tone of the tradition is hostile to him. It is partly no doubt because to the Greeks, among whom our tradition grew up, he was an alien conqueror who sacked Megara (or Nisa) and took tribute of flesh and blood from Athens, as well as having "ruled over many islands and set up his sons as governors". But it is also, surely, because of his remoteness from the ordinary man, which alienates sympathy even though he might be a better ruler than the Homeric hero after him.

A study of Minoan art suggests a further reason for the vulnerability of that society just at its culminating point. In the art of "L.M. II" good judges have seen the working no longer of a steady development, but of shifting fashions, and the first traces of a perfunctory conventionalism. It is a serious symptom. Minoan society has achieved most of the ideals towards which it has been working. For the king, and his nobles, far-flung and unrivalled power; for the merchants, wealth and security; for the artists, wealthy patrons and almost perfect mastery of their materials and of the range of subjects conceivable by them. To all these, life has little more to offer. It is a parlous state to be in. Man's fancied ideal of existence is usually a state of rest and satiety, but in fact he has a crying need of stars to follow and of reasons for activity of body and mind.

In Whitehead's analysis<sup>2</sup>: "In every civilization at its culmination we should find a large measure of realization of a certain type of perfection. . . . The culmination can maintain itself at its height so long as fresh experimentation within the type is possible. But when these minor variations are exhausted, one of two things must happen. Perhaps the society in question lacks imaginative force. Staleness

<sup>1</sup> I have argued for this view in my *Minoans*, part i, chap. iv, "Who was Minos?"

<sup>2</sup> *Adventures of Ideas*, pp. 357 ff.

then sets in. Repetition produces a gradual lowering of vivid appreciation. Convention dominates. . . . The prolongation of outworn forms of life means a slow decadence in which there is repetition without any fruit in the reaping of value. There may be high survival power. For decadence, undisturbed by originality or by external forces, is a slow process. But the values of life are slowly ebbing."

In such a civilization, if the difference in culture between the dominant class and its neighbours, Toynbee's "internal and external proletariat", is not too great, then life may always be vitalized again by internal political struggles, the rise of a new element demanding a "place in the sun" and bringing with it new ideals of social and cultural perfection at which to aim; or some section of the "external proletariat" may overrun the civilization without destroying it, being themselves assimilated instead. But if the gap has become too great, the social pyramid too acute, then the old ideals cease to live and grow, though they may survive in works of art or literature to interest and inspire later peoples. Probably we should so account for the extraordinary sterility of the Roman Empire, the thin trickle of whose classical literature dries up completely soon after A.D. 100. The governing classes of the whole western world had been crushed and broken up, except for the few thousand members of the Roman aristocracy; and these proved too small a public to continue and carry on the always artificial Roman literary tradition as a living thing. Recruitment of this aristocracy from outside by imperial fiat was continuous; for the *accidie* that befell the senatorial class under the empire was such that it did not even maintain its numbers. But the cultured class thus formed and the literary men whom it patronized, drawn from the Latin rhetorical schools of all the provincial capitals of the West, were unable to do more than imitate the outward forms of Virgil; freshness and originality were gone. So, too, with the rest of the empire: the slow normal development of Kelts or Spaniards had been cut short, and their intellectual energies deprived of any chance of expression except through

the alien literary forms of Latin prose and verse—forms themselves borrowed by a deliberate effort by the Romans from Greece. In the Greek world under the empire, with a richer intellectual heritage or “background”, intellectual life was less jejune; but Greece like the West had been terribly damaged in Rome’s wars of conquest, and Greeks no less than western provincials were denied the stimulus of feeling that they were really sharing in the responsibility for their own fate. It was left to a section of the “internal proletariat”, the despised Jews, to develop at last, through the medium of the spoken Greek of the day, a literature embodying ideas that could inspire whole populations and be the basis of the new civilization of Christendom.

If, on the other hand, “external forces”, in Whitehead’s phrase, do intervene, the weakness of such an overripe civilization is seen in another way; the ruling class fails to defend its position with anything like the vigour and determination that might have been expected. It may even happen that mercenaries or peasant soldiers fight gallantly for their masters, while those masters themselves, sceptical or dilettantes, shrink from the crudities of struggle and leave them unled, like sections of the French nobility in face of the Revolution, or like the Sung court before the successors of Jengis Khan.

Something of this lassitude, one may well imagine from their art, must have permeated Minoan society before, as it would appear, one blow on one day turned a civilization to its decline.

The leadership of the Aegean world passed to Mykenai, the mainland fortress whose kings ruled, or at least led, the lords of the other fortresses of Argolis. It may be, as Evans believes, that it was an internal proletariat that plundered the shattered palace so thoroughly of its silver and gold; and the culture of Crete still influences that of the mainland after 1400. Even in the *Odyssey*,<sup>1</sup> Crete is still the island of ninety cities, and Knossos is revered as the home of Minos the friend of Zeus. But it is mainland pottery that now

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* xvii, 523; xix, 172 ff.

suddenly appears in such large quantities in Rhodes and the distant Cyprus, the tell-tale relic, as so often, that survives when all else has perished. There can be no doubt whose power is directing that sudden thrust of Aegean enterprise to the south-east.

Now the kings of Mykenai were Minoan in civilization but very probably Greek, Aryan, by language. They are Minoan with a difference. They wore beards, whereas Cretans were clean-shaven, and attached value, probably magical, to amber, for which Cretans did not care. Evidently the cultures of Crete and of Argolis were far from being identically the same.

Mykenai succeeds to the hegemony, then, and the Aegean civilization promptly shows a last spurt of vigour, reaching and overrunning Cyprus, trading with Sicily, and being accepted now for the first time by the secluded barbarians of Thessaly, from whence probably the ancestors of Homer's heroes were to come. Architecture and the arts of fortification are practised with great skill; the potter's craftsmanship improves, and Minoan art is assiduously imitated. L.M. I or L.M. II vase-painting is to L.M. III (or Mycenæan) as the *Aeneid* is to the later Latin epic in the hands of, say, Silius Italicus. The Mycenæan people—probably descended from Minoan colonists who had intermarried with Greek natives—have clearly assimilated much of Minoan civilization.

And yet the mischief is done. There is an end of that *pax Minoa* in the south Aegean, to which the unwalled town of Knossos bears witness, and of that unrivalled sea-power, of which early Greek poets had heard the rumour. No people in Europe had the conception of the use of force to preserve peace, unless, as is likely, Minos the lawgiver and his officers; and they had lost confidence, and on them disaster had fallen. It is not necessary to kill off whole nations in order to break the heart of a civilization.

The change in the state of affairs in the eastern Mediterranean is immediately made clear by Hittite and Egyptian records. No more peaceful and elegant Keftiu come with presents to the Pharaoh's court. Amenhotep III receives

complaints of the depredations of piratical Lykki, Lykians, along the coasts of Alasya (Cyprus or Cilicia). Before the end of the fourteenth century, the King of the Hittites is having dealings in southern Asia Minor with Kings of Akhiawa, who may be veritable Achaioi, ancestors of the Arkadian-speaking Pamphylians or Hyp-achaioi of the Hellenic period. Mischief is afoot. The hegemony in the Aegean has passed to a race of gallant barbarians who fought for the sake of fighting (or for glory, which comes to the same thing) and in the magnificence of a warlike king never saw that the continual war must end by destroying the magnificence.

Gradually the confusion grows more serious. Practising their "sport of kings" Hittite and Egyptian monarchs exhaust their resources in the long fight for Syria, and by 1230–20 these "Achaioi" are menacing both great powers with open attack. Finally, about 1200, there is a human landslide, probably set in motion by the climatic break from "sub-Boreal" to "sub-Atlantic" in central Europe,<sup>1</sup> and the civilized world, which two centuries before would have had little to fear from barbarians, is swept by hordes of refugees. The Hittites in Anatolia are overwhelmed, Cyprus devastated, Egypt itself only saved by the military ability and the fleet and archers of Rameses III. The Philistine city-states in Palestine, an exotic growth like the crusader kingdoms, remain to mark the farthest flow of the tidal wave. Greece, behind its seas and mountains, seems to have been left on one side of this movement, but the Danubian "leaf-shaped" type of bronze sword and the Greek tales of heroes of Thessalian descent, showing their prowess at the courts of southern kings and sometimes succeeding to the throne, show how things were going. (The Philistines, on the Egyptian sculptures, carry the old southern tapering blade.)

The Greek heroic age falls in the period between about 1250 and 1000. (The Greek calculations of 1184 for the fall of Troy and 1104 for the overthrow of the Achaian

<sup>1</sup> On this, see C. E. P. Brooks, *Climate Through the Ages*, esp. chap. xvii.

kingdoms are based on an overestimate of forty years for the length of an average generation—a fact often pointed out,<sup>1</sup> but still curiously ignored by many scholars.) Archæologically, the period is called “sub-Mycenæan”, or “Late Minoan III b”. Art, which since 1400 has been conventional and stereotyped but not without dignity—dealing for instance in highly formalized replicas of the lively Minoan butterflies and octopuses—is now breaking up and becoming puerile; though no doubt many products of L.M. I or II painting and metal-work were still in circulation and much admired. We have reached that stage of continual fighting—sheer piracy, on the grand or petty scale, as an honourable occupation—that Homer describes. The fatal appetite grows by what it feeds on. Such a state of society can only end in self-destruction—when there are no longer any rich cities and splendid palaces left to loot. Without sentimentalizing either over simple peasants under the heel of Minoan despots or over houses great and fair sacked by ruffianly “heroes”, we may notice that just as the growth of civilization had been the growth of extreme inequalities of wealth, so its breakdown was the breaking down of those inequalities. Inspired by greed, envy, and the love of fighting, the heroes, striving to enrich themselves, end by reducing the social pyramid to a less eccentric shape. Kings become the simple country gentlemen that they are in Homer.

From the north, still rougher and more unpolished Greek tribes pushed down into this divided and enfeebled world. Already in the *Iliad* there are the Five Lords of the Boiotoi in Boiotia, replacing the Kadmeians whom Homer always mentions as occupying that country in earlier days. Their followers dwell in nine-and-twenty townships, among which “Lower Thebes”, Hypo-thebai, is only one. Thebes proper, the Kadmeia, the great fortress-capital of the once mighty Kadmeian monarchy, is still lying waste after its destruction, at the second attempt, by the Achaians of Argolis, within

<sup>1</sup> e.g. by Meyer, many years ago, *Forschungen zur Alten Geschichte*, i, pp. 153 ff. I have argued the question again in *J.H.S.*, vol. iv, “Dates in Early Greek History.”

the same generation as the Trojan War. The Kadmeians have been exterminated—ἀνάστατοι, “made to get up and go,” and the vacuum so left is occupied by new immigrants probably deriving their name from Boion in Thessaly. It was almost an accident that, if the Greek story is right, it was an Achaian dynastic quarrel which finally “let in the jungle” upon the Peloponnese as well. The exiled children of Herakles, so says the tale, made alliance with a northern chief, and their common descendants used the old claim as a pretext and overran the south: the Dorians, their name also probably connected with the northern place-name Dorion; while of the mysterious “tribes” that occur within every historic Dorian community, the Hylleis bear the name of an Illyrian nation,<sup>1</sup> and the Dymanes a name like that of the Akarnanes and Eurytanes of the north-west. The third tribe, the Pam-phyloï, perhaps represent a mixed multitude (Alemanni?) among the original invaders and in any case have nothing to do with the Pamphyloï of Pamphylia. The Illyrian associations of the Spartan national brooch, the “spectacle fibula” with its spiral coils of wire, suggest the same conclusion as these names.

With the colonization of the west coast of Asia Minor both by Dorians and other Greeks—largely, the Greeks thought, by refugees flying before the Dorian storm—the “close of the canon” of Greek heroic legend is reached. To the refugees in Ionia their own poor deeds seemed unworthy of poetic telling. They recorded the names of the leaders who colonized their cities<sup>2</sup>; many of them probably historical, some palpably not. But, of the age that follows, we have not a single legend before about the eighth century. It is a symptom of the depression of those years, during which men learned to look back on the days before the collapse as a “heroic age” when the gods walked with men. We perhaps see something of it in the melancholy of Homer: “For there is nothing more miserable than a man,” says the Father of men and gods, “of all things

<sup>1</sup> “Skymnos,” ll. 404 ff., quoting Timaios and Eratosthenes.

<sup>2</sup> Late recension, drawn probably from Ionian *logographoi* via fourth-century universal histories, in Strabo, xiii, xiv, pp. 614–49; Paus., vii, chaps. iii–v.

that breathe and go upon the earth.”<sup>1</sup> Even the heroes, having tasted the glories of sudden wealth, of unchecked power and unrestricted freedom, find that their ideal of living as a pirate king turns to ashes when realized.<sup>2</sup> As always in Homer, it is difficult to know how much of this undertone of melancholy that pervades the *Iliad* is the Ionian poet’s own, and how much of it was already present in those metrical sagas, describing a pre-Dorian and pre-Ionian Greece, on which he must have drawn.

Craftsmanship, as we saw, has not declined ; and on the strength of this it has been argued<sup>3</sup> that we ought not to speak of a decline of civilization at all. The plundering, it is pointed out, had impoverished only certain dominant groups ; the peasants, with an improved technology, were probably better off in 1000 B.C. than in 1500. “Minoan civilization did not fall, but changed imperceptibly into another.” But this is surely a sentimental judgment. What we mean by a decline of civilization is simply that the highest level of amenity and refinement of life known in the Aegean world had gone far back towards the peasant level during those centuries ; that life was less secure ; and that trade, travel, and knowledge of foreign lands, have declined in consequence. To argue that it was only a class civilization that declined is irrelevant ; all civilizations to this day have been class-civilizations. The mere possibility of anything else could not exist before the machine-age.

The loss of geographical knowledge is demonstrable. Minoan sailors had explored both the Black Sea and the West, exchanging commodities even with distant Sardinia and the mouths of the Rhone.<sup>4</sup> Homer speaks of “the famous *Argo*”,<sup>5</sup> and gives a list of the allies of Troy from the north coast of Asia Minor,<sup>6</sup> not without circumstantial details of their countries—the “wild mules” of the Enetoi (? *jagatais*, Przevalsky’s horse) and the silver of Alybe

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* xvii, 445–6.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., e.g., Achilles’ speech, *Il.* ix, esp. 406–9.

<sup>3</sup> By Hogarth, in *The Twilight of History* (1926).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Myres, Peet, and Ashby, in *C.A.H.*, i, p. 105, ii, pp. 507, 584.

<sup>5</sup> *Od.* xii, 70.

<sup>6</sup> *Il.* ii, 851–868.

(Khaly-wa, Halys-land ?) among the Halizones, who may well be the Khalitu-ni of the Assyrian documents.<sup>1</sup> He has heard of the giant Laistrygons, cannibals and wreckers like some of the Black Sea savages of later days, who dwell where the evening almost overlaps the morning “ so near are the outgoings of the night and day ”<sup>2</sup>; and he has heard, perhaps, of the Kimmerians<sup>3</sup> of what is still called Crim Tartary and the Crimea, in their far land where the sun never shines. Beyond Thrace he has heard vaguely of the “ lordly Mare-Milkers whose food is milk, and the Abioi, most just of men ”<sup>4</sup> —the first appearance in literature of the fabulously noble northern savages—the later writers’ Hyperboreans “ beyond the north wind ”. But the Mare-Milkers are perfectly good northern nomads. Elsewhere, in what is often considered to be a late portion of the *Odyssey*, Sikania and a slave-trade with the Sikels are just mentioned<sup>5</sup>—but this is commonly thought to be not traditional but “ new knowledge ” derived from the beginnings of the Greek re-exploration of the West. But how little Homer’s own knowledge is to be trusted, in spite of all these details, is to be seen from the use which he makes of the traditional stories in the *Odyssey*, where, transferring a whole set of adventures belonging to the Black Sea, the Argonaut cycle, into that fairyland which for him began immediately west of Ithaka,<sup>6</sup> he makes nonsense

<sup>1</sup> Sayce, in *C.A.H.* iii, p. 182.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* x, 81–132. The name of their spring, Artakie, is good Thracian. See Beloch, i, ii, p. 185, and cf. the town Artake, near Kyzikos.

<sup>3</sup> *Od.* xi, 18–19. There are, however, ancient variant readings, usually left unmentioned by commentators on the passage : Cheimerioi, “ men of Winterland ” and Kerberoi, said to have been preferred by the great Alexandrian Aristarchos. (See ΣΣ, ad loc., and on Aristoph. *Frogs*, 187.) As these people lived next to the land of the dead where the monster Kerberos dwelt, one must admit that either of these readings makes excellent sense. *Κιμμέριοι* may well have gained favour after the Milesian exploration of the north and the Kimmerian raids of the seventh century. (Cf. the more recent alteration of the spelling Tatar into Tartar—from a medieval derivation from Tartarus !)

<sup>4</sup> *Il.* xiii, 4–6.

<sup>5</sup> *Od.* xx, 383 ; xxiv, 211, 307, 366, 389.

<sup>6</sup> This is how the “ Aiaian isle ”, and Kirke “ own sister of Aietes, the child of the Sun ” (*Od.* x, 135 ff.) out of the *Argo*-myth, has got into the West. For the points of the compass in Homer’s fairyland, cf. *Od.* v, 272 ff., where Kalypso bids O. when steering homewards to keep the Great Bear on his left.

at one stroke of Kimmerians, northern darkness, and the short summer nights and long days alike.

This only confirms the impression made by the pottery of the "dark age" that now ensues. "Mycenaean" pottery of the fourteenth century is in one style, which was known throughout the Aegean and the Levant; its products, competent and uniform, occur alike in Argolis and Boiotia, Ithaka and Thessaly, Thrace, Asia Minor, Crete, Cyprus, Syria, and Egypt. The new "geometric" vase-painting has many local styles; the Athenian is quite unlike the Boiotian, and that of Euboea is not like either of them. Also, though sometimes exported, it is rarely exported far—the trade to which its distribution bears witness is rarely anything more than a casual affair between neighbours. The pottery of Corinth, which was as much exported as any, reaches Boiotia, Delphoi, Argolis, and the island of Thera; but even this limited range belongs chiefly to the latter part of the dark age, hardly before the generation of 850. We are in a home-keeping age. For every Greek of the Geometric period, even for great men like Homer, the limits of the world are narrow. The ends of the earth, full of monsters and imagined terrors, are not far outside Greek waters. But what this must mean, not only for trade but in its effect on imagination and breadth of outlook, can easily be realized.

Population also had declined in the period of the great wars—or so one may well believe, and so the Greeks of the dark age thought. The *Cyprian Lays*, one of the earliest of those "cyclic" epics written probably in the eighth century to supply the *Iliad* with sequels and a prelude, plainly enunciated the theory that the Trojan War was God's cure for over-population<sup>1</sup>; and the *Iliad* itself speaks of pestilence following in the track of the sword.

<sup>1</sup> Σ on *Il.* i, 5 (Allen, Oxford text, frag. i). As it may not be everywhere accessible, it may be worth quoting:—

ἡ λοροπλα παρὰ Στρατίῳ τῷ τὰ Κύπρια πεποιηκότι, εἰποντι οὕτως :  
ἥν ὅτε μυρλα φῦλα κατὰ χθόνα πλαζόμεν' ἀνδρῶν  
... βαθυστέρουν πλάτος αῖγας.

(continued on p. 23)

I do not base any judgments as to the rise and fall of civilizations on the character of the geometric art-style itself, as contrasted with the naturalistic rendering of flowers, shells, butterflies, and sea-creatures, in the Cretan palace-style or the Middle Minoan. Thirty years ago it was fashionable to do so ; but the æsthetic are the most purely subjective of all our judgments (hence the peculiar venom of artistic controversy) and a generation like our own, which is rediscovering the merits of Byzantine art and which not infrequently deprecates Praxiteles, may well find something to say for geometric formalism as compared with the naturalism, be it never so charming, of the earlier style.

The geometric style has been variously and perversely ascribed to the barbarous Dorian invaders of the Aegean world, and to the sheer incompetence of a barbarous age. The latter judgment has been long recognized as very superficial. One has only to look at the lines and follow out the pattern on one of the fine vases from the Dipylon cemetery at Athens to realize that the painter was extremely competent. He could carry in his head a most elaborate and detailed plan, and what the artist intended, that the hand and brush performed. Only his intentions were not what ours would have been. His theory of art, which it is not likely that he formulated in words, might be described as expressionist, in contrast to impressionist. He does not paint what the subject looks like, the impression it gives us, from one point of view ; he paints something that represents it as it *is*. If he were asked whether men's noses are really as long as that in proportion to their heads, or their waists and knees so thin in proportion to their thighs and shoulders, he might answer, "No—but could you mistake them for anything else ? And if not, what is the trouble ?" In like manner, if he is painting a funeral procession—as he

Ζεὺς δὲ ἴδων ἐλέησε καὶ ἐν πυκναῖς πραπίδεσσι  
σύνθετο κουφίσαι ἀνθρώπων παμβάντορα γαῖαν,  
ρίπισσας πολέμου μεγάλην ἔριν Ἰλακοῦν,  
ὅφρα κενδοσειν θανάτου βάρος· οἱ δὲ ἐν Τροΐῃ  
ῆρωες κτενοντο· Διὸς δὲ ἐτελέσθη βουλή.

frequently did, on the great vases that stood on graves and into which food and drink offerings were tipped—then in a side view of a chariot he paints two wheels, because it really has two wheels, without bothering about the fact that the far one would be almost entirely concealed by the other. If it has four horses, he shows you all their four heads and all their sixteen legs. They really would have sixteen legs, after all. And he shows you the bier, lying on top of the dead chieftain's chariot ; and the coverlet, hanging down in folds at the corners ; and also the dead man, lying stiff and straight between the bier and the coverlet ; because he after all is the *raison d'être* of the whole procession and not to be able to see him might leave one in doubt as to what it is a picture of. It is all done with a meticulous and unerring craftsmanship.

The racial theory is in slightly but not much better case. There are indeed northern prototypes for some of the favourite patterns in geometric vase-painting ; for instance, the square meander, found in pottery from the bronze-age village at Buboshta in western Macedonia. But the new style develops strongly not only among Dorians and Boiotians but also in the Ionian area, where according to Greek belief the new invaders did not penetrate, and reaches its highest excellence among the “autochthones” of Athens.

Also, though here we are on the dangerous ground of subjective judgments, it would seem from a study of the differences between the geometric local styles that in each region the style developed spontaneously ; influenced perhaps by its neighbours, but seldom, if indeed in any case, adopting a whole artistic repertoire of subjects, as one might have expected if it were a matter of a single influence, with the prestige of a conqueror behind it, sweeping over Greece. On the contrary, in parts of the conquest area *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit*, or at any rate influenced him. Among the vases in the National Museum at Athens, for instance, some of the Boiotian geometric makes use of curvilinear ornament in the shape of pleasing and skilful bands of conventionalized flowering plants, of a convolvulus-like

appearance, and with obvious Mycenæan ancestry ; and from the Temple of Hera at Dorian Argos comes a geometric vase making use of the sacred sign of the Cretan double axe.

The rise of the geometric art-style may be better explained not by way of unexplained racial characteristics, but on simple psychological grounds. There is no such thing as a racial style in art, though physical characteristics may have some effect : for instance the prevalence of myopia, with or without astigmatism, that has been alleged of the scholarly Chinese. There are national or even international styles, Dutch, Italian, medieval Christian, Mohammedan, with all their cross-currents and subdivisions ; but they are carried on and developed by teaching, imitation, and experimentation by original artists on the basis of a common heritage, not by a kind of Lamarckian heredity. The Greek geometric develops in many cities and regions on the basis of a common heritage, the Mycenæan, and in similar circumstances. The Mycenæan style was artistically decrepit in its later stages, but still technically useful, with its dark-on-light brushwork. There is a period of incompetence, but it comes then, not in the geometric age. The latest Mycenæan belongs probably to the Greek "heroic age" when wars and insecurity were at their worst ; when the artist was probably often working for an alien conqueror, and in any case can seldom have had any assurance of the permanence of his work or that it would meet with appreciation. The mature geometric belongs to the time when stability has been recovered, if at a low level ; it is not the style of an indeterminate transition period, but the first stage in genuine Hellenic art. These, we may suggest, are the "similar circumstances" in which the geometric styles develop : they are, one and all, the styles of those communities which, having weathered the storms so far, are concerned with holding on to what they have of the decencies of life : that is, their law or custom, their ethics and taboos, the land they live on, their wealth, or what is left of it ; and, among other things, the style of art or decoration which they know. These societies have learned to value, even to over-value, a rigid

social convention. The artist aims at nothing more ambitious than to reproduce faithfully the familiar patterns and subjects. In the circumstances the men and horses, birds and beasts, of the Sub-Mycenæan repertoire do not remain the same but become more and more crisply conventional and stereotyped. There is no conscious experimentation, and no attempt at realism, humanism, or naturalism. Those are the characteristics of a more optimistic, confident age, in which individuals feel more independent of society and social tradition, or even come to resent its restraint of their own freedom. The "geometric period" is not a cheerful age, as we may see from Hesiod. Men love the setters of custom; they fear to stand alone; their art is traditional and anonymous. The painter is very far from incompetent; he does what he intends; but he *does not want* to do anything novel or individualistic.

All theories of art are perilous, since psychology is still very far from being reduced to a science; but the above does not consciously ignore any of the facts.

The literature of the age was no less anonymous than its art. Its medium was epic poetry, dealing with the brave days of old, not with the sordid realities of the present; and the epics, until Homer came, if we may judge by what late Greek scholars tell us of such poems as the *Thebaid*, were simply metrical sagas, which began at the beginning and went on to the end, covering a period sometimes of years in a poem less than half the length of our *Iliad*. The bards never intrude their own characters—when they do so, like Hesiod or the Blind Man of Chios who wrote the *Hymn to Apollo*, the geometric age is near its end. Homer himself does not abide our question.

And yet there was in these chronicle poems something of the joy in living and the individualism of the heroic past. Episodes from the Trojan War period itself survived, little changed, thanks to the stabilizing effect of the metrical form; how else can unmistakable descriptions of Mycenæan armour and amenities have survived in an Ionian poem? Poems and minstrelsy are easier for emigrants to carry, less

liable to be destroyed amid wars and troubles, than works of art. Even so, the Pilgrim Fathers and their descendants could carry with them into the West little of European material civilization; but they preserved old English songs and ballads better than their brethren who stayed at home.

On the basis of these sagas Homer, it seems reasonable to believe, invented the great epic, differing from what had existed before him in magnitude, in psychological interest —character as well as incident—and in the artistic unity that he gains by plunging in *medias res*, describing a single episode of a few weeks' duration and merely alluding to the events of the preceding years. His date may well be about 850 or later, as Herodotus believed; in the eighth century his fame was already widespread, and poets both of Aiolis and Ionia, Arktinos of Miletos and Lesches of Mytilene, were engaged in writing sequels to him. And it is reasonable to believe not only in a great poetic tradition among these early Greeks, like the saga-tradition among the Norsemen, but also in one Ionian individual of transcendent genius whose work is the crown of all that had gone before; for so far were other poets of his age from being able to repeat his performance that the sequels with which they proceeded to provide him, codifying, as it were, the whole epic cycle, were merely short episodic chronicle epics after the manner of the *Thebaid*. Proklos tells us of their modest length, and says that they were read in his time "for their subject-matter rather than on their merits"; and Aristotle in the *Poetics* dryly remarks that each of the cyclic poems would "provide plots for many tragedies", while the longer *Iliad* could supply at most one or two.

Homer, then, be it, or "another poet of the same name". It is a perfectly good north Greek name; and the eponym of the Homeric poetic guild of Chios need no more be a mythical figure than the eponym of the Hippokratic medical school or the Sokratic schools of philosophy. He, and the epic poetry on which he worked, were the channel through which something of the beauty and pathos of an older, stormy

age survived to delight and inspire the hard-working law-abiding farmers and citizens of the new; an "adventure of ideas" among the most momentous in history, and the means by which, as we said, a thesis and antithesis, individualism and social solidarity, "heroic" and "geometric" produced the brilliant synthesis of Hellenic life.

Homer's picture of the gods also had, as I have remarked elsewhere, immense importance. The Greek mythopoetic imagination, their brilliance in inventing and adorning stories, had ultimately made the gods less truly worshipful and less convincing as explanations of what occurs than the vague powers of what we (still more vaguely) call "primitive animism" might have been; than the gods or *numina* of Rome, for instance. To have nations descended from children of the gods was all very well; but treat these gods with the advanced anthropomorphism of Homer, and one gets the impression that so shocked Euripides and Plato, that the gods of the old stories went about the world raping defenceless girls. As Xenophanes already says, in the sixth century, "Homer and Hesiod have ascribed to the gods all things that are shameful among men—theft and adultery and deceiving one another." Homer did no service to mankind directly by his picture of Olympos; but he did make men think, and his picture must be counted among the influences that broke the chrysalis of early Greek piety, so that Greek thought might spread its butterfly wings.

To the question that awakes Homer's deepest melancholy, some sort of answer had been found by the new Greek society. The question is that which outflanks the defences of all individualist humanism and leaves no answer possible but that of "unyielding despair". To what end is all the beauty of life when it passes with the passing of youth, and there is nothing to look forward to beyond the grave? "Why ask my race?" asks Glaukos; "as is the generation of the leaves, so is that of men."<sup>1</sup> Achilles' outburst in answer to Agamemnon's ambassadors in Book ix is full of the same feeling. To that strange shrinking from the idea of annihilation

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* vi, 145-6.

that seems to be characteristic of many of the most virile of men, Homer has no answer ; but the feeling inspires Achilles' and other Homeric heroes' craving for fame—the same craving, it is interesting to see, that was strong in many Romans under the empire. (Hence the elaborate tombstones often placed in the most public possible position, on roads ; and hence the younger Pliny's fussy preoccupation with the remembrance of his works by posterity.) The new Greek society gave a better answer, by way of its social solidarity. The sting of death was removed, so far as might be, by the securing of a meed of remembrance not only by great chiefs but by every man who left citizen sons behind him. They developed ancestor-worship, of which there is none in Homer, once the immediate funeral rites have been paid—or, at least, the tendance of the ancestral tombs. At certain festivals, as we shall see later, the family ghosts were remembered and given their offerings of food and drink. With this help, men felt they could live a kind of continuing "life beyond". This is one great reason why the heir of a Greek household, its owner<sup>1</sup> for the time being, must at all costs not sell or part with the family estate and its tombs ; a matter of which we shall have much to say later in this book. And this was why "the ashes of his fathers" were among the things for which a Greek soldier must fight and die.<sup>2</sup>

The whole duty of a Greek soldier was *έμμενειν τῇ τάξῃ*, "to abide in his place." Economically, the phalanx of men-at-arms became possible as metal became commoner, so that more men could supply themselves with the bronze panoply. Historically, the hoplite armour came from Asia Minor, and the phalanx originally perhaps from Mesopotamia. The new tactics were not heroic, but for the defence of those precious areas of level ploughland on which the life of the city depended, they were effective. Psychologically, spiritually, the Ionian citizen differs from the hero in battle just as in other things.

<sup>1</sup> *πατήρ*, from *πάσσω*, possess ; as also the other kindred Aryan words for "father". It does not mean originally "begetter".

<sup>2</sup> e.g., cf. Aischylos, *Persians*, 405.

The good Greek, then, is the man who brings to the duties of a Hellenic citizen the spirit and sensitiveness of a Homeric hero. Herodotus, that typical early Greek, gives an answer to Homer's question, can man be happy ? It is in the answer given by the wise man of Athens to the rich and successful king. The happiest men he knew were three obscure Greeks who had lived and died doing the duties of a loyal and pious man. Croesus, having shown Solon all his treasures, asked whom Solon judged to be of all men most happy ; but he without flattery answered " O King, Tellos of Athens. For Tellos lived when his city was in prosperity, and his sons were gallant and good, and he saw children born to each of them, and all lived and grew ; and he had plenty of this world's goods (as we count plenty) and after all this he ended his life most gloriously. There was a battle between the Athenians and their neighbours at Eleusis ; and he went to their aid and put the enemy to flight and perished most nobly. And the people of Athens gave him public burial in the place where he fell, and honoured him greatly ". And the second place Solon gave to Kleobis and Biton, two young athletes of Argos, who had won prizes in the great Games, and died peacefully, while still in their youth, after performing a deed of piety in the service of the gods and of their mother, who was a priestess (a married priestess, as frequently in Greece, one may notice). But before he is dead Solon bade Croesus call a man not yet happy, but at the most, fortunate.

## CHAPTER II

### THE WORLD OF HESIOD

DURING all this Dark Age, from about 1000 B.C. until far into the eighth century, we can give hardly the barest outline of a political history of any part of the Greek world. In Ionia men treasured the old verse-sagas ; but as we have seen they did not feel that their own deeds were worthy of such recording. Economically, there was slow growth, so slow that no observer of the time can possibly have marked it. The late Geometric strata in Greek settlements seem to be usually slightly larger and less poverty-stricken than their predecessors. Powerful kingships were going out of fashion with the close of the great wars, and the nobles were everywhere dividing the royal powers among officers responsible to their Council.<sup>1</sup> Everywhere there was at least the appearance of stagnation.

We can, however, give something much more interesting than a record of dynasties and border-wars. The evidence does permit of our forming a fairly detailed picture of the life more especially of the peasants, the foundation of the whole social pyramid, towards the end of the dark age. And first among this evidence stands a remarkable old book, the *Works and Days* of Hesiod.

Hesiod lived at Askra, under Helikon hill, in southern Boiotia, towards the end of the ninth century B.C.<sup>2</sup> He was not by descent a native of the country. His father had

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 107 ff., 198 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Date from T.W. Allen's *Homer, the Origins, etc.*, on the following evidence : Hesiod (*W.D.* 564 ff.) fixes the season for cutting-over vines by the evening rising of Arcturus, sixty days after the winter solstice. To-day Arcturus begins to rise before sunset instead of after (i.e. is visible at nightfall), fifty-seven days after the solstice. Epic Greek is not usually at pains to avoid numbers other than round ones (cf. the number of ships in the *Iliad*, or of the Sutors in the *Odyssey*). If, then, Hesiod says sixty days, he probably means sixty and not fifty-nine, or sixty-one ; this would correspond to a date (calculated by Dr. A. A. Rambaut) not before 850 B.C.

lived at Kyme, over in Asia, a great and thriving city in that age, and one of which we shall hear more. The refugee settlements were already by this time beginning to outstrip the "old country" in civilization, and the men of Kyme were supplementing their agricultural resources by making their city a seaport for a settled native kingdom up-country in Phrygia. Here Hesiod's father failed in business as a merchant sailor,<sup>1</sup> and returned to backward and easy-going Boiotia, whence the Aiolic founders of Kyme were supposed to have come. At Askra he invested his remaining possessions in buying a farm,<sup>2</sup> or else, conceivably, stubbed and cleared his plot for himself, pioneer-fashion, out of the stony wastes on the slopes of Helikon. Certainly, if Boiotia was not yet populated to saturation-point, Askra does sound from Hesiod's description like one of the last spots that would be occupied.

However, though Hesiod may grumble at the climate, the farm did prosper sufficiently to bear division between two sons when the old man died, and the poet addresses his brother from the point of view of a substantial yeoman who can afford to pick the best when buying a yoke of plough-oxen, and whose farm, though a large family is deprecated, will with hard work and good management

<sup>1</sup> *W.D.* 633 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For the buying and selling of land at this time, cf. *W.D.* 341. Entirely unnecessary scruples have been felt about these passages by some moderns; cf. the ingenuities of Glotz, *Solidarité de la Famille en Grèce*, pp. 196-7, etc., and the indignant question of Beloch (after characteristically denying the existence of any man called Hesiod at all): "Woher hatte er denn die ἔγκρησις?" (*G.G.* 1, i, p. 312 n.). The assumption that, if this right to hold land was jealously reserved to citizens in fifth-century Athens, then it must have been equally jealously guarded in eighth-century Boiotia, is based merely on *a priori* reasoning, and is not borne out by facts. Cf. Aristotle, *Politics*, ii, 1270, on the liberal granting of citizenship (including, of course, ἔγκρησις) in early Sparta, as contrasted with later times; Athens, 510-450 B.C., for a similar change from a more liberal to a less liberal policy; or the modern American immigration laws, the agitation for which became formidable as soon as the advancing "frontier" ceased to exist. In all cases, the welcome given to strangers of a good type depends on whether the country (with its existing social arrangements) is felt to be "full up". Boiotia evidently was not; it accordingly takes no part in Greek colonization before the sixth century.

suffice to "carry" the owner, his wife and children, and a few male and female slaves and hired labourers. Elsewhere, in a line (405) which Aristotle quoted in his *Politics* (perhaps because he liked the order in which the items are mentioned), Hesiod gives the barely necessary equipment for starting a farm : "A house first of all, and a woman, and an ox for the plough." It may well have been with no more than this that the poet's father "fleeing from evil poverty", as his son says, set to work at Askra to retrieve his fallen fortunes. (One might compare, incidentally, the Tenth Commandment.)

So Hesiod kept his father's sheep on Helikon, and made that hill-country famous from that day to this in European poetry ; for it was there, according to the pretty tale at the beginning of the old mythological poem, that the divine voice spoke to him as it spoke to David, "while he was following the ewes great with young" :—

"From the Muses of Helikon let us begin to sing, . . . who once taught Hesiod fair song, when he was shepherding his lambs beneath divine Helikon. This was the first word that the goddesses said to me, even the Muses, daughters of Zeus, the bearer of the *Aegis*: 'Ye shepherds of the wilderness, creatures of contempt, mere bellies : we know how to tell many tales that are false but like to truth ; but we know, when we will, how to speak true things.'

"Thus spake the ready-tongued daughters of great Zeus ; and they plucked and gave me a staff, a branch of fair-growing laurel, a wonder to behold ; and they breathed into me their divine voice that I might spread the fame of things that shall be and that have been, and bade me hymn the race of the blessed gods immortal, and ever both first and last to sing of themselves."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hesiod, *Theogony*, 1, 22–34. I do not dogmatize on the question whether this poem is by the author of the *Works and Days*. When Pausanias visited Boiotia a thousand years later he was shown certain "very ancient" copies of the Hesiodic corpus of poems written on lead, and was told that later poets, of the local "school" inspired by H.'s example, had written all except the *Works and Days* (Paus. ix, 31). It may be noticed, however, that the phrase "who once taught Hesiod" in the passage quoted here does not, as has been suggested, show that the writer is another. "Hesiod" in l. 22 is the "me" of ll. 80 ff. The poet, if not Hesiod himself, is obviously using his name "pseudepigraphically".

More prosaically, we may remark that the eastern connections of Hesiod's father are important, for it was surely through these that he was familiar with the diction and metre of the Ionic epic as perfected, probably not long before,<sup>1</sup> by Homer. Homer's dialect, where it departs from the standard Ionic vowel-system, departs in the direction of Aiolic,<sup>2</sup> the speech of Kyme and the coastal strip to the north; and the late "lives" of Homer (which, though silly and apocryphal in tone, preserve some fragments of epic verse that may represent an early tradition) are localized round Kyme and Chios,<sup>3</sup> the northern island of Ionia, where one or two Aiolic forms occur in an inscription as late as the fifth century.<sup>4</sup> Hesiod is familiar with those magnificent old stories and with the epic bards' anthropomorphic and beautiful rather than terrifying idea of the gods. His originality, his direct inspiration from the Muses, as he tells us himself—or a follower and admirer of his who wrote under his name—was to turn the epic style to the uttering of "true things", matters of daily life; not, of course, that the traditional matter of the epic was not true as well. "False but like to truth" perhaps refers to the fact that, as everyone must have known, the bards made up the minor details of a story (by the inspiration of the Muses) as they went along.

The old man died at last, then, as quite a substantial farmer, and the two sons quarrelled about his inheritance. Perses, the brother, having propitiated the local nobles who

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. ii, 53: "I think that Homer and Hesiod lived four hundred years before me, and not more."

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Allen, op. cit., ch. v. A point sometimes missed is that though some of these forms (*ελος*, *λαός*, e.g.) may well have survived from an older pre-Ionian age, among traditional material used by Homer because the Ionic forms *ἔλως*, *λέως*, would not fit the line, there are others where this reason does not apply—e.g. *δρῆρος*, *Ναυαρίκδα*, *Μαχάδων*, where the Ionic *η* would scan perfectly well.

<sup>3</sup> Homeric Epigrams i and iv (Kyme); vi, l. 5 (the headland of Mimas); iii (Phrygia). For Kyme in the eighth century as the port of Phrygia, cf. below, pp. 179 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *πρήστας*, *λαβάνι*, *πεντηκόνταρων* (genitive; i.e. the numeral is declinable). Cf. also Il. xiii, 60, where we are told that the Chian civic edition read *κεκόπων*, an Aiolic perf. partic., for *κεκοντάς*. See Allen, loc. cit.

sat in judgment on the case with a timely “present”, got more than his share—at least according to Hesiod; and then, having by feckless improvidence soon got into difficulties, threatened Hesiod with further proceedings, no doubt by way of complaining that his hard brother refused to share all his substance with him, while suppressing the fact that he had had a full share already.

That, then, was the origin of Hesiod’s famous poem. It began as a poem of Expostulations with an Unsatisfactory Brother: “But, Perses, do you lay this up in your heart. Let not strife, the joy of the evil, turn your heart away from work, as you gape at law-suits and listen in the place of assembly. There is little good to be got from quarrels and courts, for the man who has not got his food laid up for the whole year, in good time. . . . When you have got enough of that you may raise quarrelling and strife about another’s goods; but as for you, you shall not have a chance to do it again—no, come, let us now decide our dispute by righteous decisions that are from Zeus and are good. For ere now we divided an inheritance, and you went off with much more than your share, by giving glory to the kings [i.e. nobles], the devourers of gifts, who would like to judge this case” (lines 27–39). These underhand attempts to get rich quick do not pay a poor man, though they pay the judges all right. It really is better to work; and, adds Hesiod, if you will work, I will tell you how to do it. It is thus and thus. . . .

But after the manner of books, the poem expanded. Hesiod ended by putting into it miscellaneous hints on farming—especially the star-lore that was so important to the man who would get his work done in good time—and on one’s duty to one’s neighbour, and on things that it is “unlucky” to do; and his answer to the questions why we have to work so hard, and why the world is such a thoroughly grim place; and he tacked on at the end of it his “Days”, the famous list of lucky and unlucky days of the month. In short, it is Hesiod’s advice to the world in general, on life. The address to Perses ends by being

little more than a dedication ; and if the book is unsystematic, and not very long at 828 lines (say twenty-two of our pages), one must remember that writing in the Phœnician script, that is our alphabet, was probably a novel accomplishment in that age even in Ionia ; that writing materials (perhaps stilus and home-cured leather) were clumsy ; and that the alternative of carrying it all in one's head imposes limitations, even with a memory unimpaired by reliance on indexes and notebooks. Professional reciters like Homer might well know how to write ; it has been suggested that it was the introduction of the art that made possible such ambitious works as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* ; and perhaps an exceptional farmer like Hesiod may have learnt it too ; but the majority of his audience must have carried his star-lore and “ proverbial philosophy ” in their heads if it was to be useful to them at all.

The prevailing impression is one of hard and unremitting work with a few slack seasons (very important—that was when Hesiod, and other shrewd and practical Greeks, had time to sit down and think), with hunger a familiar acquaintance and sheer starvation a very present possibility. A poet of Sparta, a few generations later, characterizes the seasons, and ends with the spring, “ when things are growing, but there's none too much to eat ”<sup>1</sup>—until the harvest is reaped.

The central passage of Hesiod is that on the Farmer's Year, lines 383 to 617, and through most of this it will be best to let him speak for himself.

“ . . . But if your heart desires wealth, thus do, and work work after work.

“ When the Pleiades, born of Atlas, appear, begin your harvest ; and your ploughing when they set. Now they are hidden for forty days and nights, and then again, as the year goes round, they appear, when men sharpen the sickle.”

(Harvest begins, thus, early in May, when the Pleiads rise above the horizon a few minutes before the sun and so are visible just for those few minutes, before dawn. For the previous forty days they have been above the horizon

<sup>1</sup> Alkman, frag. 56 (Diehl.).

only in the day-time, and so invisible. Rising a few minutes earlier each day, by the autumn—end of October, ploughing time—they can be seen setting just before sunrise, the sign which to Greeks of all periods marked the beginning of the wintry season. Sinclair, commentary, p. 42.)

Hesiod seems to be now launched on his Year, but he pauses to underline once more the general importance of hard and steady work. “This is the law for the plains, and for those who dwell near the sea, and whoso inhabit the wooded glens far from the swelling waves, a fertile land : Strip to sow and strip to follow the plough, and strip to reap, if you wish to get in all the works (i.e. produce) of the Corn-Goddess in due season ; that all things may grow for you in season and that you may not thereafter, being in want, go timidly to other men’s houses, and get nothing—even as you lately came to me ; but I am not going to give you any more. Work, foolish Perses, the works that the gods have ordained for men, that you may not, with your wife and children, unhappily seek for food among your neighbours and they take no notice. Twice or thrice you may get something, but if you go on troubling them your words will fall in vain. No, but I bid you see how you may pay your debts and avoid hunger.

“First get a house and a woman and an ox for the plough, and have your tools all ready in the house, that you may not try to borrow from another, and he refuse, and you be without one, and the season be going by and your work come to nothing. And do not put things off till to-morrow and the day after. . . . A man who puts off his work is always at hand-grips with ruin.<sup>1</sup>

“When the might of the fierce sun is ceasing from its sultry heat, and mortals move more lightly—for then Sirius goes—but little over the heads of mortal men by day, and takes a greater share of the night—at that season the wood that you cut is most proof against worms, when it is letting fall its leaves and ceasing to grow. So then cut wood, remembering to do all work in due season. . . .”

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn-White’s translation.

Then comes a list of the things that you will want to cut wood for : pestle and mortar [for pounding corn] and axle-tree for your wagon, and mallet for breaking up hard clods ; and any time that you notice a suitably curved piece of wood growing, you should bring it home for use in making a plough. It is best to have two ploughs ready, in case you break one ; one can be jointed and one one-piece ; and you will want different wood for different parts of the plough. Get two nine-year-old oxen ; they are in their prime then, and they will not get fighting and break the plough ; and get a man of forty for your ploughman—a younger man gets bored and wants companionship—and don't stint his food ; give him a good, large loaf to his dinner.

" And mark, when you hear the cry of the crane, crying, on high in the clouds, year by year ; it gives the signal for ploughing, and warns us of the season of rainy winter, and it grieves the heart of a man that has no oxen. Then is the time to feed up your curly-horned oxen in the byre ; for it's easy to say ' Give me oxen and a wagon ', and it's easy to refuse—' I have work for my oxen.' And a man rich in fancy thinks about building a wagon ; fool, he does not know that there are a hundred parts to a wagon. All these one must take care to have laid up at home in advance."

There is a spring ploughing to be done too, Hesiod adds in parenthesis ; " . . . turn the fallow in spring ; or land ploughed in the summer will not let you down. And sow when your fallow is still getting lighter [i.e. before the rain]—fallow-land that keeps off curses and keeps the children quiet " (because well fed).

" Pray then to Zeus of the earth and holy Demeter, to make heavy the sacred grain of Demeter in full weight, when first you begin your ploughing, when you take the end of the plough-tail in your hand and come down on the backs of the oxen with your goad as they tug on the peg that holds the yoke-straps. And let a little slave follow behind with a mattock to give trouble to the birds by hiding the seed. Good advice is the best thing for mortal men, as bad advice

is the worst. Thus will your corn-ears bow down to the earth with goodness, if the Lord of Olympos send a good fulfilment in the end ; and you will brush out the cobwebs from your bins, and I think you will rejoice as you take of the food that you have in store ; and with plenty shall you come to the grey spring, nor will you look to other men ; but another man shall have need of you.

“ But if at the solstice you plough the good earth, then you will reap squatting down, grasping but a little in your hand, covered with dust as you bind, and with no glad heart ; and you will carry all home in a basket, and few will admire you. Yet changeful is the mind of Zeus the Ægis-bearer, and hard for mortal men to know ; and if you are late with your sowing, this may be a cure. When first the cuckoo cuckoos amid the oak woods, and gladdens men over the boundless earth—if then, on the third day, Zeus rains without stopping, not more than enough to fill a cow’s footprint, nor less, then shall the late plougher vie with the early”—but it is much best, the obscure last words of the paragraph seem to say, to do things in good time.

After the ploughing and sowing-time, winter sets in in earnest, and one is tempted to drop in at the smith’s and idle away the time in the informal club that meets round his warm fire. But the temptation must be resisted : “ Pass by the smithy and its gossiping crowd in the winter time, when the cold keeps a man from work in the fields ; that is a time when an industrious man can do his house much good. . . . And say to your slaves while it is still high summer : ‘ It will not always be summer. Build barns.’ ”

And then follows the passage on midwinter—nothing to do with work, but too good to leave out. “ And avoid the month of Lenaion, bitter days, all fit to skin a cow, and the freezing blasts of the north wind that blows through the horse-country of Thrace and falls upon the wide sea and stirs it up ; and the earth and woodland groan ; and many a tall oak and stout pine it flings to the earth. . . . And the wild beasts shiver and put their tails between their legs, even those whose hide is shaggy ; the cold wind blows even through

them, and through the hide of the ox ; it does not keep it out. And it blows through the goat's fine hair ; but not the sheep, because their fleece is good for all the year round ; the force of the north wind does not blow through them ; but it makes an old man run" (to keep warm ; or perhaps *τροχαλὸς* means "bent like a wheel", with rheumatism). Then, sounding as if Hesiod had a little girl at home : "And it does not blow through the little girl who stays at home with her mother, knowing nothing yet of golden Aphrodite ; she washes herself and anoints with olive-oil, and sits easily in the house on the winter day when Boneless [= the octopus] gnaws his own foot, in his fireless home and cheerless haunts. Nor does the sun show him pasture to go to, but goes to and fro over the land and city of the black men, and shines late upon the Greeks. . . ." And all the wild beasts run about looking for shelter. ". . . Then do you put on clothes to protect you, as I bid : a soft plaid, and a long tunic ; and put much weft on little warp [to give the cloth a thick "pile" as it were] and put that on, that your hairs may lie down and not stand up straight all over your body with shivering. And on your feet put boots of the hide of a slaughtered ox, and fit them, and lace them, lining them with felt inside. And sow together the skins of firstling kids with ox-sinew, to keep the rain off your back ; and on your head put a cap of felt, made to fit, so that your ears may not get wet . . ." and then in all your winter clothes you will be well equipped against the cold mornings and the morning mists from the rivers, that help the corn to grow. But get your work done and come home before the evening mist rises, or it will soak your clothes and you. "And in that season give your oxen half-rations, and a man rather more ; the long nights are a great help" ; (i.e. *qui dort, dîne*).

"But when Zeus has accomplished sixty days after the solstice, then Arcturus, leaving the holy river of Ocean, first shines at nightfall<sup>1</sup> ; and thereafter Pandion's daughter, the shrill-crying swallow, comes into the sight of men, when

<sup>1</sup> i.e. hitherto it has not risen until some time after nightfall.

spring is on the way.<sup>1</sup> Before she comes, prune your vines ; for so it is better."

Then, in May, comes the early southern harvest, at the season when snails climb up the plants to take shelter from the sun under the leaves :

" But when the House-carrier climbs up the plants from the ground to escape from the Pleiads, then no longer dig about your vines, but sharpen sickles and stir up your men, and shun all sitting in the shade and lying abed in the morning in the season of harvest, when the sun dries up men's flesh. That is the time to be forward and get your crops home, getting up early, that you may have food enough. Dawn makes one's work lighter by a third ; dawn sets men on their way, and sets them to their work ; dawn, whose appearing sends many men on the road, and puts yokes on the necks of many oxen."

Then, the dog-days :

" And when the artichoke flowers and the tuneful cicada sits on a tree and pours forth its shrill chirping industriously under its wings, in the season of weary heat—then goats are fattest and wine is best, and women are wanton and men are weak, for Sirius scorches head and knees and man's flesh is parched with heat ; but then may one have the shadow of a rock and bibline<sup>2</sup> wine, and the very best of bread, and milk of goats drained dry, and flesh of a heifer fed in the woods, that has not yet calved, and of firstling kids ; and drink the sparkling wine, when he has satisfied his heart

<sup>1</sup> A reference to an old and savage tale : Prokne, daughter of Pandion, king of Athens, was married to Tereus, the Thracian king of Daulis in central Greece ; and Tereus ravished Philomela, his wife's sister and cut out her tongue so that she could not tell. (So the story goes back long before writing.) But Philomela wove her story into a tapestry, and showed it to her sister ; and Prokne for revenge killed Tereus' child, her own son Itylos or Itys, and served up his flesh for his father to eat. And when Tereus knew the truth he rushed upon the sisters sword in hand—but the gods in pity for their sufferings turned all three into birds. Tereus is the hoopoe—hence the royal crown upon his head ; and Prokne is the nightingale, and Philomela the swallow. So any summer night you may hear Prokne crying over her child's name, " Itule, Itule," or " Itu, Itu ", and the swallow twitters incoherently—she is still trying to tell.

<sup>2</sup> βιβλίων : meaning unknown.

with food, sitting with face toward the fresh west wind ; and from a spring ever-flowing and unsailing and unsouled, pour thrice of water, but the fourth measure of wine.

In July, at the rising of Orion, comes the threshing :—

“ Bid your men winnow Demeter’s holy grain when first the great Orion appears, in a windy place and on a well-rolled floor. Measure all well and bring it home in vessels ; and when you have laid up all stores aright in the house, then get a hired man with no household<sup>1</sup> and find a serving-maid with no children ; a servant with her own youngling is ill to deal with ; and make much of your sharp-toothed dog ; do not stint his food, lest the man who sleeps by day steal your possessions. And bring in fodder and clippings, that you may have enough for your mules and oxen all the year ; and then, let your slaves rest their limbs, and loose your oxen.”

And lastly, in mid-September, the vintage :—

“ But when Sirius and Orion are come into the mid-heaven, and rosy-fingered Dawn looks upon Arcturus, then, Perses, cut and bring home all your clustering grapes ; and show them to the sun ten days and ten nights, and keep them five days in the shade, and on the sixth pour off into jars the gifts of Dionysos the joy of many. Then, when the Pleiades and Hyades (‘ the Rainy Stars ’) and great Orion are setting, then remember that it is due season to plough ; and the full year will duly go beneath the earth.”

Such, then, was the farmer’s year in Hesiod’s time in Boiotia. It was a hard life, certainly, but not without its alleviations. Above all, one must always be watching and measuring one’s food : mark the lines about selecting an

<sup>1</sup> Or as some take it, “ turn your hired man out of doors,” now that the harvest is over ; but the Greek is *δούκον ποιεῖσθαι*, and it is probably rightly argued that the middle voice “ to do something for one’s self ” should imply “ get yourself a homeless man ” (with no winter preparations of his own to make) rather than “ make him homeless ”, well as the latter sense would suit the hard ways that Hesiod—of necessity—recommends (cf. the careful husbanding of rations, p. 40). This free hireling (*θῆς*) is to be your foreman and look after the slaves.

A servant girl “ with a kid ” (all but literal translation) is a nuisance simply because you would have to feed her baby too,

*unmarried* manservant and maidservant. One son, on Malthusian grounds, is the best number to leave behind you, “for so will wealth increase”; or if you leave a second son you should die old—after you have built up an estate large enough to stand division, he probably means (*Il.* 376–8). Again, we have seen how in winter, when there is less work to do, one must take the opportunity of cutting down rations both for man and beast—and if you are hungry you had better go to bed; “the long nights are a great help.” Still, with foresight and labour and reasonably good treatment by the gods, you can make ends meet with a little to spare. Then you can sit in the shade and eat and drink in the dog days after the harvest, and have oil for warmth in the bitter month Lenaion, and relax your usual thriftiness a little in handing out the rations, both when you are just opening a new jar and when just finishing up the last of what is left in an old one (*Il.* 368–9). “It is too late to spare when the bottom is bare.”

But there is more that we should like to know in order to complete our picture of the attitude to life of this canny old Greek farmer and his contemporaries. We should like to see his neighbours at play, and to know what holy-days they keep and what manner of gods they worship or placate, and how. And are they, on the whole, a cheerful or a gloomy people, and especially do they, like so many primitive peoples, live in a perpetual dread of demons and unseen powers? In short, we should like to know something of what, in the loose sense of the word, one may call their philosophy.

From Homer, directly or indirectly, all the world is familiar with the family party of the Olympic gods: Zeus, the dark-browed lord of the thunder, more mighty than all his kindred put together (*Il.* viii, 17–27); genial, sensual, a trifle afraid of the tongue of his terror of a wife, Hera, but habitually unfaithful; his children, the splendid Apollo, the skilful and warlike grey-eyed Athene, the archer Artemis, the messenger Hermes, and the powers of Love and War, the soft Aphrodite and the braggart Ares, the pair whom Homer singles out in the *Iliad* for discomfiture by a mortal

warrior and in the *Odyssey* for an undignified rôle in some of the poet's most unedifying comic relief. Unsympathetic, too, are the reigning god's brothers—not only Hades in his gloomy halls under the earth, but even Poseidon the black-haired sea-god who in one passage of the *Odyssey* seems to manifest a sheer malevolence alien to the character of any other Greek deity. It is true that the immediate cause of his turning to stone a ship of the kindly Phaiakes with all its crew is their befriending of his enemy Odysseus; but their king Alkinōos as he stands sorrowing on the shore calls to mind an old prophecy that something of the kind would one day happen "because we are accustomed to help wayfarers to their homes" (*Od.* xiii, 173-4).

That, however, is exceptional. On the whole, Homer's gods are gracious human presences, not without an ethical side. Zeus is the protector of the helpless outcast, and even sends thunder at harvest-time upon men who pervert justice at the judgment-seat (*Il.* xvi, 385-8), though at the same time it is also noticeable that Hermes, who, as his old epic Hymn tells, "lifted" the cattle of Apollo while still in his cradle, is ready to act as the patron-god of thieving and perjury (*Od.* xix, 394-6). Still on the whole the chief trouble about the Olympian gods is that, to quote a recent writer,<sup>1</sup> "thanks to the poets, the anthropomorphic tendency of myth had overreached itself". The more these old nature-powers are humanized, the less worshipful they become. One cannot feel that they would go far towards satisfying for simple people that complex group of instincts, individual and social, that finds an outlet in religion.

Certainly in Hesiod we do find evidence of a preoccupation with unseen powers that is quite absent from Homer. There is astonishingly little in Homer that can be called superstition. He refers to the skill of Agamede of Ephyra in the virtues of herbs (*Il.* xi, 740); but where is the dividing line to be drawn, in a pre-scientific age, between the virtues of herbs in the hands of the magician and of the ordinary man? And when the boy Odysseus is wounded by a boar,

<sup>1</sup> Cornford, *Before and After Socrates*, p. 15.

his friends not only spread "soothing herbs" on the wound but sing a spell over it (*Od.* xix, 457)—no doubt bidding the flesh grow together wholesomely and the pain be soothed, and incidentally making a perfectly sound use of what we know as suggestion. Philology notes that "pharmakon", the regular Greek word for a drug, is cognate with words meaning "sing" (which would also be used for reciting a spell) in the ancient Aryan language of Lithuania.<sup>1</sup>

And that is all. The same vigorous humanism that makes Homer for us the first of the Hellenes makes him also a standing disappointment to the anthropologist. He has almost outgrown even the ancient and very natural tendency of men to account for all growth in nature, or "character" in a mountain or river, by ascribing to these a spirit and personality like our own. River-gods and "mountain-dwelling nymphs" are the only surviving relics of a bygone animism or animatism, and even the nymphs are by now "daughters of Zeus"<sup>2</sup> and as fully personal as the Olympians themselves. Certainly a population, or an upper class, that thought as Homer did, would be ready for that birth of rationalism that presently came. It is matter for guessing how one should apportion the credit between the irreverent self-reliant Achaian Vikings of the age of the migrations, whose bards, as we see in the *Odyssey*, first sang their sagas of the war with Troy, and the great poet, probably of Ionia, who composed our *Iliad*.

Among the Greek peasantry, on the other hand, both in Hesiod and elsewhere, we do find magical ideas in plenty. The *locus classicus* is towards the end of the *Works and Days* (724–759) where, after a number of sound and indeed, for the time, very advanced moral maxims, the poet goes

<sup>1</sup> Jevons, in *Anthropology and the Classics*, p. 105, where he also quotes from the Atharva-Veda (iv, 12) an ancient Aryan "incantation" that might perfectly well have been sung over the wounded Odysseus: "Let marrow be joined to marrow and let limb to limb be joined; Grow flesh that erst had pined away and now grow every bone also; Marrow now unite with marrow, and let hide on hide increase."

<sup>2</sup> νύμφαι δρεστιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοι, *Il.* vi, 420—the charming passage where the nymphs plant trees round the barrow of a warrior killed bravely defending his home near Troy.

on to give warning against a number of "unlucky" proceedings, obviously without feeling that the latter are a whit less practical and obviously good than the former.

What we know of old Attic agrarian religious ritual belongs also to the order of ideas of Hesiod and not to Homer.

This contrast has exercised the minds of many scholars : this strange contrast between the comparatively civilized and rational outlook of the great epics that are our earliest source of knowledge of Greek society, and the survivals of superstition and magic known to us from later sources. How comes it that the "primitive" is more prominent in the later period ? Among other attempts to account for this may be mentioned Professor Murray's theory of the "expur-gation" out of Homer of much cruelty and indecency and of barbarism generally ; or Ridgeway's, that the Achaians are stalwart Celtic and Nordic (if not German and Nietzschean) blond beasts, with a mind above such things.

The expur-gation-theory leads, as is well known, to great difficulties if worked out in detail. Nor is Ridgeway's racial theory acceptable simply as it stands.<sup>1</sup> There is no one of the common types of agrarian or other magic, or of super-stition generally, that is *not* found, in one context or another, among both Celtic and German-speaking peasants, just as much as among Mediterraneans, Semites, or Central American Indians, as any student of *The Golden Bough* will well remember. But there is a most valuable reference to a similar contrast of ideas within a single age and country in the facts which Ridgeway cites from Livingstone's *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*.<sup>2</sup> "Livingstone was struck by the absence of idols among the Bechuanas and Caffres [the Bantu "master tribes of the Zambesi area", as he elsewhere says], whilst they were present everywhere among the [subject] negro Balondas, and he points out the extreme dread of spirits and "medicines" among the latter,

<sup>1</sup> Ridgeway also believed that the Nordic Race never practises homo-sexual vice except under Mediterranean influence (such practices also being absent from Homer). It is not known how he picked up this idea.

<sup>2</sup> pp. 158, 281, 286, cited by Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, ii, p. 422.

whilst so much superstition was unknown among the former. The Makololo upbraided the Makalaka for being superstitious, and reproached them with turning back from an enterprise if a certain bird called to them, saying that it was unlucky" (Livingstone, *ib.*, 272). "The spirit of the Makololo" in fact, as Ridgeway points out, is exactly "that put by the Homeric poet into the mouth of Hector, when he disregards the omen-bird which perturbed the Trojans".<sup>1</sup> Exactly in the same manner the Homeric Achaians had no fetish and no ancestor-worship; while Athenians of the "geometric" age certainly practised at least the tendance of their dead; (the big vases were used as receptacles for food and drink-offerings, where they stood on the grave mounds, and there was, as we shall see, at least one great Athenian festival in honour or placation of the departed).

No, these differing attitudes correspond to a material difference that is not racial but social. The "hero" mentality and the peasant mentality can develop in suitable circumstances among Bantu and negroes as easily as among Aryan-speaking Achaeoi and Ionians. "War is a teacher of violence and accommodates the tempers of men to their circumstances," says Thucydides; and the same is true of other activities besides war. The Viking, the Ishmaelite, the uprooted warrior-people, learn self-reliance, opportunism, independence of custom; and in proportion as they learn these lessons, they prosper and survive. The peasant on the other hand learns a different kind of opportunism, a submissive attendance on the whims and moods of nature, which, when it has become an ingrained habit of mind, may easily make for submissiveness to a human lord also. The whole difficulty arises from the use of the word "primitive", which, as we saw, is not only almost meaningless if we believe that man has existed for hundreds of thousands of years, but also, as applied to Homer, seriously misleading.

With the passing of the heroic age, then—with the breaking up of every conspicuous aggregation of wealth, and with wholesale slaughter among the lords or heroes themselves—

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* xii, 248.

we need not be surprised to find many old magical rites and usages creeping back out of dark corners, to take their place in the new settled "medieval" society even in the beliefs of kings.

Let us hear, then, some of Hesiod's precepts :—

"Do not pour a libation to the gods with unwashed hands, or they will not hear your prayer"; a very natural idea, and one, incidentally, which is countenanced by Homer, where Hektor refuses to pour a libation when bloodstained from manslaying in battle.<sup>1</sup> "Do not cross a river without uttering a prayer, gazing into the clear water, and washing your hands. Who crosses a river unwashed of hands and evilness, with him the gods are angry, and give him grief thereafter." Do not use a new vessel for eating or washing till you have performed due rites over it—till it has been blessed, in fact—"for there is doom in that also." "And never put the ladle above the mixing-bowl when men are drinking; for dire fate attends on that." The point of this is in the widespread prejudice against laying one thing across another, from a feeling that by doing so you are "crossing or thwarting the free course of things".<sup>2</sup> Hence, probably, the widespread preparatory-school superstition that, if you cross your fingers when telling a lie, it does not count. Hence certainly in many countries a feeling that it is unlucky to cross the legs; Frazer quotes examples from Germany and the Balkans; no ancient Roman, so Pliny tells us (*Nat. Hist.*, xxviii, 59), would do so at any public council or sacrifice, and at Athens to do so was at least ill-bred. And Ovid describes how the goddess of child-birth "held up" the birth of Herakles by crossing her legs and arms (*Metamorphoses*, ix, 285).

Again, "do not on the auspicious feast-day of the gods cut dry from quick on the Five Branches with bright iron."

This, at first sight one of the most obscure maxims in the collection, is also one of the most interesting. "The Five-Branched Thing" is a periphrasis for "hand", also found

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, vi, 266.

<sup>2</sup> G.B.<sup>3</sup>, iii, "Taboo and the Perils of the Soul," pp. 298-9.

in other ancient books ranging in time and space from the *Rig-Veda* to the *Lorica* of Gildas the Briton,<sup>1</sup> and the sentence thus resolves itself into a warning against cutting one's nails on a holy day, at any rate with iron. For iron was a new-fangled thing, and religion notoriously feels that new-fangled things are out of place. (Hence ancient Roman priests shaved and cut their hair only with bronze ; hence Joshua circumcised the people with knives of flint,<sup>2</sup> and hence, to give a comparatively modern parallel, the use of a crystal burning-glass for kindling the new fire at Easter in the fifteenth century *Rituale* of Bury St. Edmund's, instead of the "modern" flint and steel ; and the use of the flint and steel for that purpose by the Roman church nowadays.<sup>3</sup>) But the words "with bright iron" do not occupy an emphatic position in the sentence, and probably Hesiod means that it is safer not to cut one's nails on a holy day at all. The warning is one, then, among the thousands of examples of superstition attaching to nail-parings. Nail-parings are a part of one's self, and so—thus reasons pre-Hellenic or pre-rationalist man, all the world over—any harm done to them by an enemy will harm their former owner even more surely than the same magic worked over a bit of his clothing or an image representing him. After all, we should still regard an insult to someone's portrait as an insult to the person, though, being well brought up, we should not imagine that it had done him any real harm ; and to see how natural the even deeper rooted feeling about nail-parings is to unsophisticated man, we need only remember the surprising properties attributed by many quite intelligent modern Europeans to the relics of dead saints. The two feelings are obverse and reserve of the same thing. "Hence," comments H. J. Rose on this passage, "at Rome the parings of the Flamen Dialis' extremely holy nails had to be put away not only out of sight, but under a

<sup>1</sup> See Sinclair, ad loc., pp. 75–6.

<sup>2</sup> On Rome, Servius, ad *Aen.* i, 448 ; Macrob., *Sat.* v, 19, 13. Joshua v, 2 ; cf. *G.B.* iii, p. 227, for exactly the same taboo among the S.-W. African Ovambo.

<sup>3</sup> Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, ii, p. 433, quoting M. R. James, *The Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury*, p. 185.

lucky, that is a fruitful, tree.”<sup>1</sup> For the luck of the High Priest of Jove was intimately bound up with the luck of the whole commonwealth, and if anyone worked mischief on his nail-parings no one could say what might happen. For the same reason this poor man was (still, in the days of Cicero) subjected to various other highly inconvenient taboos. He must not ride a horse (a new-fangled beast, and used in war), nor be away from Rome for more than three nights, nor anoint himself in the open air (lest he expose himself to evil spirits), nor take off his cap anywhere (for the same reason), nor touch raw meat (which is too intimately connected with death), nor a human corpse, nor enter a graveyard ; nor might he touch or talk about a dog or a goat (“unclean” beasts ?), nor touch meal (because that too has been “killed”), nor yeast, which was thought of perhaps as a kind of corruption, and in any case as a new-fangled “unnatural” kind of thing (tabooed also at the Jewish Passover, as all will remember). Nor might he remain in office if his wife died (contact with death), nor take an oath, for so important a person must not invoke a curse upon himself, even conditionally ; nor might he wear a ring, nor any knot in his clothing, nor touch ivy, nor walk along a road overshadowed by a vine-trellis ; while if a prisoner in bonds could take sanctuary in his house he must be set free and the bonds thrown out by the usual route taken by spirits—the skylight in the roof, over the rain-tank. The reason for all these last taboos is that knots, rings, or anything that twines, like vines or ivy, is felt, to quote Frazer again, to “cross or thwart the free course of things”, no less than crossing two sticks, or one’s legs.<sup>2</sup>

So too in Hesiod’s native Boiotia, Plutarch tells us that still down to his time the archon of Chaironeia must always wear a garland (in token of consecration, as other people

<sup>1</sup> *Primitive Culture in Greece*, pp. 188–9. On the Roman taboos, see A. Gellius, x, xv, 6, 9 (knots and rings) and 24 (corpses and cemeteries) ; and for the remainder, Plutarch, *Roman Questions*, 40, 44, 50, and 109–113, ed. with commentary, Rose (Oxford, 1924).

<sup>2</sup> *G.B.* iii, pp. 293–317.

did when sacrificing); have no iron about him; wear his hair long (not to interfere with the course of nature—cf. the Nazarite vow); and not enter the territory of Boiotia's neighbour and bitter enemy, Phokis.<sup>1</sup>

Actually, a book was published in London about 1925 on self-defence against black magic, in which no anthropologist who got so far will have been surprised to find careful directions for the disposal of cast-off clothing, hair-combings, and nail-parings—all for reasons that would have been quite plain to Hesiod or to various other ancient or savage gentlemen familiar to readers of *The Golden Bough*.

The feeling that it is particularly dangerous to cut the nails on a holy day was also shared by the Romans, and by the disciples of Pythagoras, that strange mixture of wisdom and religiosity, among later Greeks.<sup>2</sup> The reason is probably that a holy day is, as Rose says, “a day when much *mana*”—psychic force, one might translate the Polynesian—is about.” Such a day is very fateful, *μάλα τετελεσμένον*, as Hesiod says of one of the days of the month, and anything that goes wrong then will be worse, and harder to get rid of, than the troubles of an ordinary day. So it is all in order that there should be people in modern Ireland who refuse to cut their nails on Sunday; though the reason they will give nowadays as a rationalization of their scruple is that it would be sabbath-breaking so to do.

Contact with death and tombs is naturally unlucky. “Set not down a boy of twelve days old upon that which may not be moved” (i.e. a tomb); “nor yet one of twelve months; for that makes a man unvirile.” Apparently twelve days and twelve months are especially critical ages; one may compare the high praise given in the “Days” to the twelfth day of the month—there is no better day in the month for every kind of work. Again, “Do not beget a child on your return from an ill-omened funeral, but from

<sup>1</sup> Plut., loc. cit., No. 40.

<sup>2</sup> See Sinclair, loc. cit. (Rome : Ovid, *Fasti*, vi, 229–230; Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, v, 19, 18. Pythagoreans : Iamblichos, *Protreptika*, 364k; παρὰ θυσίαν μὴ δινυχίζειν).

a feast of the gods." For a man, any contact with women's things may be weakening ; so we find " Let not a man cleanse himself in water a woman has washed in ; for a grievous penalty follows that also, in time ". So, Frazer has a story of an Australian black who, " on discovering that his wife had lain on his blanket at her menstrual period, killed her, and died of terror himself within a fortnight." <sup>1</sup> And so, in later Greece, the Pythagoreans : you must not let your weapons be handed to you by a woman.<sup>2</sup>

Several precepts might pass as a modern type of rules of decency, were it not that none of them has any reference to the presence of other people. " Do not make water standing upright turned towards the Sun ; but when he has set, remember to do so towards his rising ; nor do so on the path nor off the path as you go, nor expose yourself ; the nights belong to the Blessed Ones. A good and wise man does this squatting down, or going to the wall of a fenced yard." The root of the whole matter is probably anxiety to protect important and vulnerable organs ; in this case, protection from any possible harm arising from contact with so mighty a potency as the sun ; or, as the sun-god becomes more anthropomorphically conceived, Hesiod might call it anxiety not to offend the all-seeing god by indecent exposure before him. On the other hand in the dark things are still more dangerous ; " the nights belong to the Blessed Ones," a general euphemism for all sorts of night-walking ghosts and bogeys, and it is well to turn towards the sunrise " for luck ". The powers of darkness may not be so strong in that direction. But it is much the best to do the whole thing in the most private position possible. So too one must not besoul springs or rivers ; it is so as not to offend them. This is more probable than the desire not to pollute other people's water supply, which in any case one cannot protect against contamination by animals.

Finally, " Do not expose yourself with privy members

<sup>1</sup> Sinclair, p. 78 ; *Golden Bough*, iii, p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Latin " Pythagorean Symbols " of Gyraldus, No. 5 (Mullach, *Frag. Phil. Graec.* (Didot), vol. i, p. 510).

defiled,<sup>1</sup> in front of the Hearth in your house, but avoid this." Here we shall miss part of the point unless we remember that the Hearth also is a goddess, and a virgin goddess, who refuses wedlock and " likes not the works of Aphrodite"<sup>2</sup>; though in spite of the well-meant efforts of systematizing and anthropomorphizing poets, who made her a daughter of Kronos and Rhea and sister of Zeus and Hera and Demeter,<sup>3</sup> she never became fully personal in men's minds. She has no adventures, and there are no stories about her, presumably because her name, Hestia, was too obviously intelligible. She remains, like her Latin double, Vesta (cf. Hesperos, Vesper, etc.), and like many of the gods of Rome, a vague *numen*, a survival of the animist stage, simply the Holy Hearth, a revered but only half personal Spirit of the Home.

Sinclair compares the reply of Gregory the Great to a question of Augustine of Canterbury : " A man after sleeping with his wife should not enter the Church without washing with water ; and even then he ought not to enter at once."<sup>4</sup> In dealing with the Greeks, it is well to be thus plainly reminded at the outset that even they, though remarkably free from the widespread " sense of sin " attaching to sex, were not wholly without such feelings.

The gods that Hesiod mentions in connection with the farmer's year are Zeus (both because one may pray to Zeus in almost any capacity, and because he controls the weather) and especially Zeus of the Earth, the all-ruling god in his " chthonian " capacity, to whose care is committed the sown seed ; and with him Demeter the Mother-Goddess, whose functions overlap with those of Zeus Chthonios and whose especial care is the Corn, and Dionysos, god of the Vine, a youthful forceful vegetation-deity of the Adonis type, Thracian in origin though long since domiciled also in Greece. One would like to know how Hesiod's peasant friends worshipped these gods and how they thought of them ; but of

<sup>1</sup> αἰδοῖα γονῆ πεπαλαγμένος, 733.

<sup>2</sup> Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite, 21-32.

<sup>3</sup> Theogony, 453-4.

<sup>4</sup> Bede, *History*, i, chap. 27. For sex-taboos in Greek religion also, cf. p. 55.

all this the *Works and Days* tells us nothing. There was no point in putting into verse a detailed account of matters that everybody knew all about. Also some of the most important rites were "mysteries" and not to be revealed.

We do, however, know a good deal about the religious calendar of Athens. Much of the information comes from very late writers; however, much of this is by way of comment on the allusions of such writers as Aristophanes, in whose time the old religious life of the countryside was still vigorous; and religion, as we have seen, is highly conservative; so that though the information requires careful criticism and sifting, we can in the end accept a good deal of it with confidence.<sup>1</sup>

Disregarding such comparatively late innovations of civilized Athens as the Great Dionysia and the glorification of the city-state in the Panathenaia, we find as we should expect that most of this calendar is closely connected with the farmer's year, and shall not be surprised to find three of the greatest festivals coinciding exactly with the dates fixed astronomically by Hesiod for such important operations as ploughing, vine-dressing, and harvest. On the whole we may be confident that what follows is a fair specimen of the early Greek religious calendar, and that similar old fertility rites were widely celebrated in the Greek world. The Thesmophoria, for instance, was held at Sparta, Eretria, Corinthian Syracuse, Ionian Abdera, and elsewhere.

Starting the year, as Hesiod does, with the ploughing-season, at the end of October, fixed by the sunrise setting of the Pleiades, we find Athens keeping the great festival of the Thesmophoria, in honour of Demeter, on the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth days of the month Pyanepsion, known respectively as the day of Ascent and Descent, the Fast, and the Fair Birth.<sup>2</sup> It is a festival of the Mother Goddess; moreover it is women who know how to bear

<sup>1</sup> For all that follows general reference may here be made to Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*; J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to Greek Religion*; and, on the Thesmophoria, Frazer's article in *Enc. Brit.* (11th edition). The meaning of the name Thesmophoria is obscure.

<sup>2</sup> Σ on Ar. *Thesmophor.*, 78–80, 585, and Photios' *Lexikon* s.v.

children, while men do not ; so it is naturally suitable that men should keep out of the way and leave the celebration of the rites to women—married women ; though from a chance remark in Lucian<sup>1</sup> it appears that with increasing laxity by his time unmarried girls were present too. For nine days these ladies have carefully purified themselves, observing strict chastity and strewing their beds with the *agnus castus*, supposed to be an anti-aphrodisiac.<sup>2</sup> (Chastity is a regular method in magic of storing up one's virtue or potency.) During the festival they camp out in booths,<sup>3</sup> like the Jews at their Feast of Tabernacles—another example of the spurning of “ modern conveniences ” during a religious rite. At Eretria in Euboea they even went so far as to use no fire for cooking, roasting their meat as best they could in the sun.<sup>4</sup> On the day of Ascent and Descent the chief rite was celebrated, and an apparently well-informed late writer commenting on Lucian<sup>5</sup> tells us what was done. Sucking-pigs were thrown into a chasm in the ground, sacred to Demeter and Persephone, and at the same time the rotting remains (presumably of last year's pigs) were brought up. A great noise of clapping of hands or rattling of sticks was made when the women went down, for the utilitarian reason that there were snakes down there, known as the Guardians of the Shrine, who ate most of the pigs' bodies. Cakes of flour-paste in the forms of serpents and “ men's shapes ” (meaning phalli ?) were also carried, and the celebrants carried branches of pine, “ because of the fertility of that tree.” The whole was celebrated, we are told, “ for the fertility alike of the fruits of the earth and the seed of man.”

The magical import of all this is clear. The object being to promote the fertility of Earth, the mothers of the community put into the womb of earth pigs—the most fertile of

<sup>1</sup> *Courtesans' Dialogues*, ii, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *N.H.* xxiv, 59. Cf. Tibullus, ii, i, 11–12, for a similar sex-taboo in Roman agrarian religion.

<sup>3</sup> Ar., *Thesm.* 624, 685, and ΣΣ.

<sup>4</sup> Plutarch, *Greek Questions*, No. 31.

<sup>5</sup> Σ ad loc. cit. ; quoted in full and discussed by Miss Harrison, op. cit., pp. 121–2, and Farnell, *Cults*, iii, p. 89 ; cf. also Frazer, *G.B.*, part v (“ Spirits of the Corn and the Wild ”), vol. ii, pp. 17–20.

beasts ; branches of pine, which produces more seeds than any other tree ; and images, made from the corn whose increase we particularly desire, of serpents, the children of earth, and probably (certainly, at Syracuse<sup>1</sup>) of the human genital organs. In short, we are *putting fertility into the earth*. The point is as obvious as when the Akikuyu of Kenya, during a drought, pour water on the ground (and, no doubt, wish very hard) "to show the sky-god what is expected of him". One must be careful not to say that what is done *symbolizes* the desired result, or to use the term "symbol" at all. The whole concept of a symbol is far too intellectual for pre-rationalist man. For him, if A is like B, then there is causal connection between them.

There came a time when Athens outgrew the simple and direct attitude of mind that inspired the ancient sympathetic magic of the Thesmophoria, and the question began to be asked, what was the meaning of these venerable rites. Authority was ready with an answer, making up a story to suit the ceremony. It is preserved for us by the same valuable scholiast, and we have few better examples of the way in which a myth may be invented to account for a ritual, though popular opinion naturally believes that the ritual commemorates the events of the myth. When the Lord of the Underworld carried off the Maiden, the daughter of Demeter, a certain swineherd named Eubouleus had driven his beasts to that place and was swallowed up in the chasm that opened in the earth, together with Hades and his prey ; and so, ever since, we are bidden to cast pigs into the chasm of Demeter and the Maiden in honour of Eubouleus who became involved in the intrigues of the gods.

As a matter of fact, Eubouleus is a name, well-known in later "Orphic" contexts, of the underworld god, who evidently, therefore, must have come into the Thesmophorian liturgy. "The Good Counsellor" is simply a euphemistic title, like Pluton, "the Wealthy," for a Power who might otherwise be worshipped as Hades or Aidoneus or, for that matter—at least unless one had read the Hesiodic *Theogony*

<sup>1</sup> Athenaios, xiv, 647, from Herakleides of Syracuse.

and got one's ideas about the gods all properly cleared up—as Zeus Chthonios, Zeus of the Earth.

The days of the Fast and of the Fair Birth followed, but of them we know little. The Ploughing and Sowing went forward; autumn deepens into winter, and presently comes the bitter month Lenaion, when no man can work.

In the middle of the dark days classical Athens had two festivals of Dionysos, the Country Dionysia, celebrated in the Attic villages, and, in common with other Ionian communities, the Lenaia, which gave its name to the month.<sup>1</sup> The question is obvious—why two Dionysiac festivals in such quick succession? Dr. Farnell tentatively suggests that there may not have been two, originally, in any one place; the Lenaia, of which there is no evidence in the villages, being the specifically Athenian festival of the city.<sup>2</sup> Aristotle, when mentioning the chief festivals over which each of the chief magistrates of Athens had to preside, names only one of them, which he calls in full the Dionysia at the Lenaion (sanctuary of the Lenai, Bacchanals).<sup>3</sup> All these midwinter celebrations had one and the same object—to awaken the slumbering vegetation-Deity, or by suitable rites to strengthen his vital force at a time when it is running low.<sup>4</sup> Both festivals, accordingly, are cheerful noisy affairs, with shouting, dancing, and torches.

At the Lenaia, the chief rite of which we hear is a general gathering of worshippers at which the high religious official called the Torch-Bearer comes forward bearing a lighted

<sup>1</sup> The question how this name got into the *Works and Days*, ostensibly by a Boiotian, when the name belongs to the Ionian calendar, has exercised some scholars quite needlessly. Hesiod may have known the name either through his Asian descent or from living so near to the Attic border. There was even a considerable “pre-conquest” element surviving, we are told, in the population of southern Boiotia. (Paus. ix, i, 2.)

<sup>2</sup> *Cults*, v, p. 213.

<sup>3</sup> *Ath. Pol.*, lvii.

<sup>4</sup> For D. as god of vegetation other than the vine, see Paus. i, 31, 6 (*Δ. κιτρός*, at Acharnaia); Plutarch, *Mor.* 675 F, 684 D (*Δ. Δευδρίτης*, *Δ. Φλοιός*); Ath. iii, p. 78 c (*Δ. Συκέτης* in Lakonia); and many other passages quoted by Farnell. We are further told by a scholiast on Sophokles (*O.C.* 100) that Dionysos was worshipped at these festivals with *νηφάλια*—wineless offerings!

brand, and commands “ Invoke the god ! ” and the whole congregation cries aloud “ Iakchos, son of Semele, Giver of Wealth ! ”<sup>1</sup> More hilarious was the sport, traditional at some point during these celebrations, called *ἀσκωλασμός*, at which the country lads tried to jump on one leg on greased and inflated wineskins without falling down. When they fell they merely provided merriment for each other and the spectators, but anyone who succeeded received the skin filled with wine.<sup>2</sup> But the best known feature of the country Dionysia, both in the Attic villages and in Boiotia, was the phallic procession. Dikaiopolis the old rustic in Aristophanes holds a private one to celebrate his private and separate peace with Sparta, with himself and his daughter and slave forming the whole procession, as leader, basket-bearer, and phallos-bearer : “ Forward a little, basket-bearer. Xanthias, hold the phallos up straight. Now put down the basket, daughter, and we will begin the sacrifice ”<sup>3</sup> ; and Plutarch describes it in the good old days in his native Boiotia, as it was before modern luxury spoilt it with its gilt and trappings and expensive clothes : “ a cheerful popular procession—an amphora of wine, a branch of the vine, then someone dragging a goat along, someone else with a basket of figs, and above all, the phallos.”<sup>4</sup> This latter, the emblem of fertility *par excellence*, whose display was therefore good sound magic for the fields, would be a large leather affair. In like manner, after the sacrifice, obscene ribaldry, jokes, and insults were the order of the day. It, too, was fertility-magic. It was countenanced, for this special religious purpose, by the most staid and respectable people.<sup>5</sup>

Incidentally cursing, insults, and abuse are a good way of averting the jealousy of any possibly hostile occult powers. (So, in modern India, the much-desired boy baby is often taken at birth and laid on the nearest rubbish-heap, just to show the evil spirits that it is not worth while to do such a despised and unwanted creature any harm ; and so, in many

<sup>1</sup> Σ on Ar., *Frogs*, 482.

<sup>2</sup> Σ on Ar., *Ploutos*, 1129.

<sup>3</sup> *Acharnians*, 241 ff. ; cf. 202.

<sup>4</sup> *Mor.*, p. 527 D.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Aristotle's *Politics*, 1336 B.

parts both of India and of Southern Europe to-day, praise of a child is resented as highly dangerous and likely to provoke these demons.) The whole feast is full, as Farnell says, of "the innocent grossness of old-world peasant ritual". From it the comedy of Aristophanes, with its rollicking obscenity and its personal attacks on individuals, is lineally descended.

The winter goes on its way, its gloom broken by the merry winter festival, and by the end of February in the south of Europe spring is close at hand. The swallow returns, and now, when Arcturus rises, sixty days after the solstice, is Hesiod's date for the beginning of vine-dressing. Also the last autumn's new wine is ready, and the broaching it forms the occasion for one side at least of the most elaborate and interesting of the primitive Dionysiac festivals, the Anthesteria,<sup>1</sup> the feast of the growing crops,<sup>2</sup> held by every Ionian community<sup>3</sup> about the end of our February, on the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth of the month Anthesterion.<sup>4</sup> The three days were called the Opening of the Casks, the Feast of Cups, and the Feast of Pots.<sup>4</sup>

On the first day, every man drew his new wine and carried thereof to the shrine of Dionysos in the Marshes, where they poured a solemn libation first to the god.<sup>5</sup> Evidently it lay under a religious taboo, that no man might drink of it before the appointed time. After that followed general drinking, and "religion forbade that one should deny to either slave or hireling the enjoyment of the wine, but everyone had his share in the gift of Dionysos".<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Plut., *Mor.* 655 E.

<sup>2</sup> From ἀνθέω, to bloom, as Farnell suggests (*Cults*, v, p. 222). It can not be derived directly from ἄνθος, a flower. On the other hand there is, as he shows, no sufficient reason for further attempts to read other than the obvious meanings into the titles of the festival and its several days, such as were made by Miss Harrison (*Prolegomena*, pp. 37-8, 40, 43, 47-9) in her attempt to show that the whole was primarily an "All Souls" ghost festival. Ghosts did walk at the Anthesteria, as we shall see, but the evidence does seem to most students, and certainly to the writer, conclusive, that it was really what it seems: essentially—and *primitively*, since it occurred in all the dispersed communities of the Ionian world—a Dionysiac rite.

<sup>3</sup> Thk. ii, 15.

<sup>4</sup> Ηλιθούγα, Χόες, Χέρποι: Harpokration, s.v. Χόες.

<sup>5</sup> Ath. xi, 465 A, quoting Phanodemus.

<sup>6</sup> Σ on Hesiod, *W.D.*, 368.

Next day was the great day of the feast, marked by two ceremonies. Once more the worshippers assembled at Dionysos'-in-the-Marshes, every man with his cup of wine ; at the blast of a trumpet they drank, and the man who finished his cup first received a prize of wine from the king.<sup>1</sup> One would like to know how they judged and who umpired such a competition, and how many people were usually left with a grievance afterwards. And on this day came the chief rite of the whole Anthesteria, the solemnization and consummation of the holy marriage of the god Dionysos to the Athenian queen.<sup>2</sup> Obviously no rite could be more surely efficacious for ensuring the fertility of the fields of Athens or (at a slightly more advanced stage) the personal interest of Dionysos in the well-being of our community. Farnell compares our old western King and Queen of the May, and the Indian holy marriage of Siva and Parvati. Even when Athens had long outgrown such magics and when the Queen was merely the wife of an annual official charged with the supervision of the state religion, careful inquiry was always made to see that she was of pure Athenian blood, the wife of one husband and a maiden till her marriage, lest the rite should lose its efficacy or the god be angry.<sup>3</sup>

So far all seems cheerful and auspicious. It comes as a shock to find that this day was regularly called an Unclean Day, "on which the spirits of the dead rise up." Athenians "chewed buckthorn from dawn onwards, and anointed their doors with pitch".<sup>4</sup> Moreover no two people drank together ; each had a separate table and a separate cup ; and excepting Dionysos'-in-the-Marshes, which was opened at this and at no other time, all the temples were closed.<sup>5</sup> All this is well attested and circumstantial. On the other hand, the day chosen for the Sacred Marriage cannot surely have been essentially "unlucky". On the whole, probably all we need suppose is that the day was felt to be "very fatful", as Hesiod would say, so that one had better be careful.

<sup>1</sup> Ar. *Acharnians*, 1000-2 and Σ.

<sup>2</sup> Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Demosthenes, *Against Neaira*, § 75.

<sup>4</sup> Photios, s.v. μιαρὰ ἡμέρα.

<sup>5</sup> Ath. x, 487; Suidas s.v. χόες.

Hence the purification with pitch and buckthorn, and hence the isolation in drinking, so that any pollution that may be attaching to anyone may not be passed on. Why the ghosts chose to walk then is uncertain; perhaps merely by chance the Anthesteria "fell so near to a primitive ghost-ceremony called Chytroi, 'Pots', that the latter became attached to it as a mournful finale"<sup>1</sup>; but the connection may also be more intimate. The dead, being in the ground, are thought of as being subject to the gods of the underworld, those same chthonian powers who have care of the growing crops. The association of Demeter and Persephone is an obvious case in point; rites concerned with the dead and with the crops are always tending to run into one another, and in a later age that hope of salvation which was held out by these two great goddesses in their mysteries at Eleusis was offered by the Brotherhoods of Dionysos too.

The point of the isolated drinking at the Choes in due course ceased to be obvious to every Athenian and was explained by a myth, just as happened to the magic of the Thesmophoria. And here too the story was attached to one of the famous legends. When Orestes, it was said, in flight after killing his mother, came to Athens, the king, Pandion or Demophon, received him kindly, but could not expect his subjects to sit at meat with a man under such an appalling pollution; so, with superb tact, to save his guest the humiliation of being conspicuously isolated, he gave everyone present a separate cup and table.<sup>2</sup>

The purificatory value of pitch is derived from its preservative power. Buckthorn is a purgative and hence obviously potent to perform an "inward cleansing" in all senses. The same type of idea occurred not very many years ago to the old woman in Yorkshire who, impressed by the injunction to have the Word within her (and not, apparently, by Christ's remarks on the spiritual irrelevance of what enters the body by the mouth), actually did eat a

<sup>1</sup> Farnell, loc. cit., p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> See Athenaios and Suidas, loc. cit.; Euripides, *Iph. Taur.* 953 ff.

family Bible, between thin slices of bread and butter, half a page a day.

Finally, the Feast of Pots was wholly given up to the tendance of the dead. The most ancient kind of food, the cereal porridge more archaic than bread, was boiled for them, "by day and not by night" (would night have been too dangerous?) and an atmosphere of mourning was all-pervading—later explained in the inevitable myth as a celebration in memory of "those who died in the Flood".<sup>1</sup> The whole festival ended with the proclamation in each household, "Begone, ye ghosts; it is no longer Anthesteria."<sup>2</sup>

"April is the cruellest month," and in the midst of the spring thoughts of the departed past will arise. Still, this Athenian spring All Souls' day seems a more cheerful affair than the mid-May Roman Lemuria, where we read of a nocturnal and far more gloomy rite.<sup>3</sup>

Later in the spring, in mid-March, came the Diasia, first of the great feasts of Zeus, on which Miss Harrison has more success in demonstrating that an older, a chthonian, cult underlies that of an Olympian god.<sup>4</sup> The sacrifices were holocausts, "whole burnt-offerings,"<sup>5</sup> not merely a feast shared between the god and worshipper as in the worship of the Olympians familiar to us from Homer. Zeus was worshipped as Meilichios<sup>6</sup>; it is true that this means the "Sweet", or "Kindly", or "Placable", but euphemistic names are so commonly given to awful and dreaded powers

<sup>1</sup> *locus classicus*, Theopompos, quoted by Σ on Ar. *Frogs*, 220.

<sup>2</sup> Θυρᾶς. Κῆρες· οὐκέτη Ἀνθεστήρια: Suidas, s.v.

<sup>3</sup> Ovid, *Fasti*, v, 443 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Prolegomena*, pp. 13–31. As to whether she was right in arguing that Διάσια cannot come from Δῖος, I do not, however, feel certain. May not some other element have contributed to lengthen the *i*, as in δῖος?—e.g. a *F*, cf. eastern Aryan deva, Latin divus. In any case the assumption that philology even in expert hands is an exact science seems to be a large one; and so the traditional explanation "feast of Zeus" may be considered at least as probable as the suggested derivation from some such root as that of the Latin *Dirae*.

<sup>5</sup> Xenophon, *Anab.* vii, 8, 4.

<sup>6</sup> Thk. i, 126.

(as when the Furies are called the "Kindly" Eumenides) that this in itself awakens our suspicions. We are told that the feast was marked by "a certain gloom"<sup>1</sup>; and the title Meilichios is explained as meaning "having to do with cleansing from pollution".<sup>2</sup> An altar of Zeus Meilichios near Athens had attached to it the story that this was where Theseus received purification for the slaying of Sinis, the robber, who was his distant kinsman,<sup>3</sup> and a sanctuary dedicated simply to "the Meilichioi" which Pausanias saw in Lokris seems to have been the home of certain very dark and primitive deities.<sup>4</sup> There was no temple, only a grove and altar in the ancient manner, where sacrifice was offered by night, and all the flesh had to be consumed on the spot before the sun was up. The secret is finally disclosed by Miss Harrison's two illustrations—two reliefs, of fourth century date, from the Peiraeus, in the Berlin Museum, in which Zeus Meilichios is represented by a magnificent coiled snake.

Here again, historic Athens refused to take its religion too sadly. The old fellow in Aristophanes' *Clouds* entertains his country relations to dinner and buys his little boy a toy cart.<sup>5</sup> But the proof is clear enough that here at least the Olympian religion has been simply and transparently superimposed on an ancient and far less cheerful serpent-cult.

Finally, two famous summer festivals deserve notice for the archaic character of the rites performed.

Harvest, as Hesiod tells us, should begin when the Pleiades rise, early in May. By the end of the month, then, the back of the work will be broken and the crops gathered in, and in the Thargelia, from which the Ionian month Thargelion (May–June) was named, a harvest thanksgiving was offered. This festival was native to Ionia, by the way, and only later adopted by Athens.<sup>6</sup> Apollo, perhaps a

<sup>1</sup> Σον Lucian, *Ikaro-Menippus*, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Hesychios, s.v. Μαιλίχιος : μειλίχιος, καθάρως.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. i, 87, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Id. x, 38, 8.

<sup>5</sup> Il. 408, 864.

<sup>6</sup> Hence the presiding magistrate was not the King, but the Archon, the President of the Athenian Republic, whose "modern" origin, as Aristotle says, was shown by the fact that he presided over none of the "ancestral" cults. *Ath. Pol.* lvi, cf. iii.

little unexpectedly, was the god worshipped<sup>1</sup>—or at least, he was the Olympian who had taken charge of the festival in historic times. Elsewhere the festival is ascribed to the Sun and the Seasons,<sup>2</sup> which seems very appropriate. First-fruits of the grain were solemnly offered to the god, as was the wine to Dionysos at the Anthesteria,—the first loaf made from the newly harvested corn, or, more archaically, a bowl full of grain, an offering quite possibly older than the invention of leavened bread. This was the Thargelos,<sup>3</sup> from which the whole ceremony was named. Lads and youths went about in a cheerful procession, carrying green boughs, tied round with fillets of wool as befitted sacred things, called Eiresione.<sup>4</sup> The name is explained as coming from *erion*, wool, which leaves the greater part of the word unaccounted for; quite possibly it is beyond all explanation, for it may not be Greek at all but, like a good many words in the Greek language—place-names, plant-names, sea-terms, civilization-terms—a legacy from the pre-Aryan stratum of the population. We have a few lines of a couple of the Eiresione songs: “Eiresione brings us figs and good bread,” (runs one) “and honey in a cup, and oil for anointing, and a bowl of good wine, that she may sleep well drunken.”<sup>5</sup> (“She” is the branch itself.) Such boughs were also paraded at the Oschophoria, a little-known feast of Dionysos in the autumn in thanksgiving for the fruit-harvest<sup>6</sup>; hence the references to all the chief fruits of the earth. They were afterwards hung up at every family’s house-door, where they remained, old, dry and withered, but still presumably “lucky”, until next year.

And at the Thargelia too took place the ancient cleansing of the people by a means corresponding to the sending forth of the Hebrew scapegoat; but at Athens and the many

<sup>1</sup> Hesychios, s.v. Θαργέλια.

<sup>2</sup> Σ on Ar. *Knights*, 729.

<sup>3</sup> Hesychios, s.v. Θάργηλος. The word perhaps = that which is dried or ripened by the sun, from a root *TAPΓ*, cf. *TPΥΓ*, = hot and dry. (Vamšek, quoted in *Prolegomena*, p. 78 n.)

<sup>4</sup> Σ on Ar., loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup> Ib.; Plut., *Theseus*, 22.

<sup>6</sup> Plut., loc. cit.; Farnell, *Cults*, i, pp. 291–2.

other Ionian states<sup>1</sup> that kept the Thargelia, or Targelia, it was not a scapegoat, but a scape-man.

This was the *Pharmakos*, the “magic-man”. The *Pharmakos* was a man (or at Athens apparently there were two of them, a man and a woman<sup>2</sup>) of the lowest of the people, and preferably deformed, ugly and criminal. They were so treated as to enhance their magical potency, cheese, bread, and figs being put into their hands, after which they were tapped seven times on the genitals with squills, figs, and other wild herbs. They were then burnt to ashes in a fire of the wood of wild (that is, of fruitless) trees. The ashes were thrown into the sea. Everyone then presumably went home with a mind at ease.

So we are told in a circumstantial and detailed passage of the learned Byzantine Tzetzes.<sup>3</sup> The custom is also mentioned by Aristophanes,<sup>4</sup> and briefly explained, to much the same effect as in Tzetzes' account, by a scholiast. So there cannot be the least doubt that it survived as late as Aristophanes' time. As to whether civilized Athens actually put human beings to death as a religious observance in the days of Perikles and later, scholars have been much exercised in mind. It has been denied, both as repugnant to the spirit of Athens and on the ground that none of the numerous enemies of Athens accuses her of human sacrifice, and also that no one might be put to death during the Thargelia.<sup>5</sup> But surely it would not be felt to be at all self-contradictory, by an ancient population, to forbid the taking of life during the time of purification *except* that of the devoted victims themselves; and Athens would scarcely be accused of barbarity by contemporaries if she used for this purpose

<sup>1</sup> e.g. in Ionia, cf. Hipponax, frag. 40; Anakreon, frag. 14; on Abdera and Marseilles, see below.

<sup>2</sup> Harpokration, s.v. Φαρμακός.

<sup>3</sup> *Thousand Histories*, 5, 726 ff., quoting Hipponax, frags. 6-11; (cf. frag. 40). He describes the rite as being practised at any time of famine, plague, or trouble.

<sup>4</sup> *Knights* 1133, and 2; cf. 1405; *Frogs*, 784; and Lysias, vi, 58: “Cleanse the city by ridding yourselves of Andokides; send him away as a *pharmakos* and be rid of a monstrous sinner.”

<sup>5</sup> Rose, *Primitive Culture in Greece*, p. 150.

criminals already condemned by the law.<sup>1</sup> If Athens did not put her pharmakoi to death, she was in advance of some parts of the Greek world in this respect (in itself highly probable); for at Abdera the victims were apparently stoned before Apollo at an even later date.<sup>2</sup> What happened at Marseilles is not quite on the same footing; there apparently in time of famine a poor man actually volunteered to be kept for a year at the state's expense, fed on ceremonially pure food, and then after being led round the city in a ceremonial dress amid curses (*not "for luck"* in this case); the citizens are making a serious effort to transfer their sins or uncleanness on to the scapegoat) was "cast headlong forth".<sup>3</sup> It is not quite certain whether this only means banished, to live elsewhere if he could, or killed by being thrown from a height.

The methods of destruction are significant in every case; stoning does not involve anyone's touching the now finally accursed and polluted victim, nor has any *one* person the responsibility for his death. The same applies to precipitation, the victim may be made to "walk the plank" or in some other way formally speaking to make away with himself. The object of burning and casting the ashes into the sea is of course to make the destruction as complete as possible. The point of the ceremonial treatment mentioned by Tzetzes is also clear; when the pharmakoi are made to accept food from the people, they accept the people's sin or uncleanness therewith—just as Aaron, laying his hands on the head of the goat,<sup>4</sup> transfers the sins of the people by his touch. At Massalia by feeding the Pharmakos for a year they took still greater care to identify him with the state. The ceremonial beating is done probably also to transfer, in this case, evil (in other cases beating may aim at beating in good attributes,<sup>5</sup> as with the women at the

<sup>1</sup> As was done at Rhodes; Porphyry, *De Abstinencia*, ii, 54. Frazer, *The Scapegoat*, p. 354.

<sup>2</sup> Ovid, *Ibis*, 467 ff.

<sup>3</sup> "Proiciebatur." Servius, on *Aen.* iii, 57, quoting Petronius.

<sup>4</sup> *Leviticus*, xvi, 21.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Frazer, *The Scapegoat*, pp. 258–272 (who prefers this explanation at the Thargelia too).

Roman Lupercalia). It is done, if one may judge from the squills (or leeks) and figs mentioned, with plants which are "good medicine"—"plants which have a strong smell, and plants the eating of which is purgative,"<sup>1</sup> like the buckthorn of the Anthesteria.

How natural is the idea that pollution can be got rid of by such means may be seen by its appearance both in primitive Greece and in primitive Israel, to say nothing of the great list of scapegoats, human and animal, compiled by Frazer.<sup>2</sup> No doubt the spiritual element in the rite was very important; in other words, one *wished* very hard. "And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the children of Israel, and all their transgressions, even all their sins; and he shall put them upon the head of the goat, and shall send him away by the hand of a man that is in readiness, into the wilderness; and the goat shall bear upon him all their iniquities, into a solitary land."

In Boiotia they had a ritual that, if (in Plutarch's time) it had grown milder and more civilized, yet is intellectually a stage cruder still. "At Chaironeia," says Plutarch in his *Table-Talk*,<sup>3</sup> "there is a traditional ritual, performed by the magistrate at the common Hearth of the city, and by all other citizens in their homes. It is called the expulsion of Famine. They beat one of their slaves with rods of *agnus castus* and drive him out of the door, saying to him 'Out, Famine; in, Health and Wealth'."

Here Hunger is quite definitely personified. After all, the difficulty that we have in talking about and managing abstractions without personifying them is still to be seen in the number of expressions that we use of the type "Terror seized him", "Sleep overcame him", however conscious we may be that we are then talking in metaphors. In the case of emotion-provoking abstractions, such as "la patrie" or "the Revolution", indeed, the fact that they are

<sup>1</sup> Harrison, *Prolegomena*, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> op. cit., pp. 170-274.

<sup>3</sup> Mor. 694 A.

abstractions does seem to be quite often forgotten even now. The ancient Roman who, in fear that rust (*robigo*) might attack his crops, prayed to the spirit Robigus at the festival of the Robigalia<sup>1</sup> was doing exactly the same thing as Plutarch's Boiotian friends. The Boiotian ritual is also interesting as showing in the germ, in its very simplest form, the use of impersonation in a magical rite ; such impersonation as might in more elaborate ritual develop into more elaborate "dressing up" and so into a sacred and ultimately a secular drama.

The personification of Famine has its echo at Athens, where "they say that once when a famine had attacked them, the god (Apollo) gave an oracle bidding them . . . propitiate Hunger. So the Athenians dedicated to It the level ground behind the town-hall".<sup>2</sup>

The reason for holding this great purification just at harvest time is probably that now, when all our corn is stored in the great jars, we have more to lose than at any time of year—and also are more likely to slip into that attitude of over-confidence that is so dangerous, surrounded as we are by the jealous Keres of death and decay. Then with the coming or rather the emergence of the Hellenes and their Olympian religion, the old scapegoat magic is as it were consecrated to Apollon the Destroyer, the sender of plague as he sent it upon the hosts of the proud Agamemnon, in the shafts of his silver bow ; Apollo who is also Paian the Healer, the Siva—though how different from his Indian cousin—of this western Aryan pantheon.

Concerning this festival also an aetiological myth came to be told ; it recounted how one Thargelos stole certain holy vessels of Apollo and was stoned to death by "Achilles and his men".<sup>3</sup>

Even at the Dipolia, the festival, at least in historic times, of so civilized a god as Zeus Polieus, the very spirit

<sup>1</sup> Varro, *Agriculture*, I, i, 6, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Zenobios, 4, 93 (Gaisford, *Paroemiographi Graeci*, p. 836).

<sup>3</sup> Istros, quoted by Harpokration, s.v. Φαρμακός.

of the city and of "civilized" life, rites persisted, this time of a more attractive archaism. To so august a deity the greatest possible sacrifice must be offered, and that, to a people who do not sacrifice men, is an ox, a working ox. (The *Pharmakos* was not sacrificed in the strict sense of the word ; he was "cast out" or made away with, not dedicated to the deity.) It is a terrible thing to kill a working ox ; he has been our companion and shared our daily work, he is almost one of us. Athens had actually a law that working oxen were not to be sacrificed.<sup>1</sup> But this time it must be done ; and the whole rite, called the *Bouphonia*, ox-murder, as Robertson-Smith pointed out long ago,<sup>2</sup> is full of details that show the sensitiveness of Athenian feeling on the matter.<sup>3</sup> Several oxen were driven round an altar on which wheaten cakes were laid. Presently one of them went up to the altar and ate a cake (thus showing that he was willingly devoting himself, or by another interpretation committing a sacrilege for which he needs must die). At once he is pole-axed by a man standing ready ; a second man cuts the beast's throat ; and the slayers fly for their lives. But murder, the shedding of blood within our social group, has been done. The king in council must sit as a court to determine where guilt lies. The maidens who drew the water for sharpening the axe and knife are accused ; but no, say they, they never handled the weapons ; it was the sharpeners. No, say the sharpeners, they did no harm ; and they produce another man to whom they gave the things. He in turn accuses the wielder of the axe (he has evidently been arrested and brought back), and he the man who cut the animal's throat. Now at last, for him there is surely no escape ; but by a last feat of ingenuity he accuses

<sup>1</sup> Aelian, *V.H.*, v, 14 : "Because he also is almost a farmer and has shared the toil of men." (A charming fancy ; but was this the sole reason for the law, or was it that the victims ought as a rule to be "intacto de grege", uncontaminated by secular contacts ?)

<sup>2</sup> *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 286 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Details of what follows from Porphyry, *de Abstinentia*, ii, 29, 30 ; cf. Pausanias, i, 24, 4. Modern discussions by Farnell, *Cults*, i, pp. 56-7 ; Harrison, *Prolegomena*, 111-12 ; Frazer, *G.B.*, part v, vol. ii, pp. 4 ff.

the knife. The knife is solemnly found guilty and cast into the sea. In the meantime the hide of the dead ox has been stuffed and yoked to a plough, as though not only had the ox voluntarily devoted itself by eating the sacred cakes, but also it had not really been killed at all.

And so, with much apparatus, the Great God gets his great sacrifice and humane man feverishly tries to set his mind at ease.

Clearly there was more in the mind, and *on* the mind, of the early Greek peasant than we shall find by looking at Homer, or the Parthenon sculptures, or Keats' Grecian Urn. Nor have we ransacked Greece for monstrosities. We have described some of the most famous festivals of a civilized and brilliant though always conservative Greek city. Indeed there were far worse things to be found in the religion of the wilder parts of Greece. "Have you heard the story," asks Plato's Sokrates, "that is told about the sanctuary of Zeus Lykaios in Arkadia . . . that the man who tastes the human flesh cut up and mixed with that of other sacrificed animals must of necessity become a wolf?" "I have," replies the young man.<sup>1</sup> It looks as if we had to do with something very like one of those African "human leopard" societies that still persist, despite European administrators<sup>2</sup>; societies whose members are believed by their trembling neighbours, or even by themselves, to become leopards and prey on men. Sometimes they practice this same method of initiating a new member by making him to taste of human flesh.

The scene of this early reference to the widespread European werewolf superstition, this sanctuary of "Zeus the Wolf-god", had another weird characteristic. "No man may enter it; and he who neglects the law and enters cannot possibly live beyond the year. And this also they say: that which enters the precinct, beast and man alike, casts no

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Republic*, viii, 565 D. More details in Pliny, *N.H.* viii, 81.

<sup>2</sup> A widespread society is reported as troubling the administration of the Belgian Congo in *The Times* of 13th May, 1933.

shadow ; and therefore, when a beast flies into the precinct, the hunter will not follow it, but remains outside ; and looking at it, he sees no shadow cast by it.”<sup>1</sup> “On this altar,” adds Pausanias, speaking of the Mount Lykaion near by, “they sacrifice to Zeus Lykaios, in secret. But I did not care to pry into the details of the sacrifice ; let it be as it is and has been from the beginning.” So that is why *he* tells us nothing about the werwolves ; he was afraid.

As to the absence of a shadow—one’s shadow is a form of one’s ghost or soul. In Latin and occasionally in Greek the same word “shade”, *umbra*, *σκιά*, is used for both.<sup>2</sup> Hence vampires, the evil dead who prowl but are not properly alive, cast no shadow nor reflection ; and hence, Frazer suggests, the reason why no living thing in this fearful place casts a shadow is also the reason why it died within the year. “The terrible *mana* of the god had absorbed and taken away the intruder’s soul.”<sup>3</sup>

Arkadia in the “classical” age was the great home of surviving half-bestial deities. The Goat-God Pan is Arkadian. At Phigalia there was a temple of a certain Eurynome—roughly, “the Mighty One”—“of ancient sanctity, and hard of access from the roughness of the ground ; and round it grow many cypress trees close together.”<sup>4</sup> The temple was only opened once a year, like that temple of Dionysos-in-the-Marshes where Athenians kept the Anthesteria ; but the Phigalians told Pausanias that the image showed the goddess as a woman down to the waist, with a fish’s tail. At Phigalia too was still to be seen, still, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the second century A.D., the even more grotesque image of the Black Demeter in its sacred cave ; a human figure with a horse’s head and “serpents and other beasts” protruding therefrom.<sup>5</sup> The horribly cruel rites of Artemis Laphria

<sup>1</sup> Paus. viii, 38, 5 ; cf. Frazer’s commentary ad loc.

<sup>2</sup> For *σκιά* in this sense, cf. *Od.* x, 495 ; Aisch. *Seven against Thebes*, 988 ; Soph. *Elektra*, 1159.

<sup>3</sup> Rose, *Primitive Culture*, p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> Paus. viii, 41, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Ib. 42, 3.

at Patrai, on the other hand, are perhaps not “ primitive ”, but an invention of the Roman age.<sup>1</sup>

Hesiod, himself, or his imitator, knows of enough fancied horrors to stock any nightmare. The *Theogony* is full of them : Phorkides and Gorgons and Harpies, the chimaira and the hydra, giants with triple body or with fifty heads and a hundred arms ; a whole “ demonology ” as Miss Harrison expressed it. And it may well be, as she suggested, that the evil monsters laid low by gods and heroes, in the Olympian mythology, are the actual gods worshipped, with terror, by a still earlier age. Even so, Pan survives, at least as regards his legs and cloven hoofs, in the Devil of Christendom.

But the question must be asked : Does Hesiod, our primary source for life in the dark age, give, in the highly personal miscellany of the *Works and Days*, the impression of being badly frightened of supernatural terrors ? And the answer is No. Half-Hellenized Oriental Gnostics, centuries later, may have lived in continual fear of gods and ghosts ; so *may* Arkadians, or even Hesiod’s Boiotian neighbours. But Hesiod, the imigrant sailor’s son, gives us no direct evidence of any such thing. He mentions the gods with respect but without panic, and gets on with his work.

Certainly Hesiod’s outlook is pessimistic. We live in the Iron Age, even harder than the Age of Bronze, and the days of Gold are far away. The nobles who govern us are predatory and corrupt (*Works*, 39) but it is no use complaining. A stronger has got you, as the Hawk said to the Nightingale in the fable (207). The gods have hidden Life from men (42), and that is why we have to work so hard.

The reason why Zeus hid the means of easy living and sent us all the plagues that flesh is heir to is that man was too clever by half—just as, in the Jewish story, by eating of the Tree of Knowledge man lost his Paradise. Forethought, Prometheus, tried to cheat Zeus over the division of our sacrifices by offering him the choice of the bones, wrapped in fat, and the meat, covered with a bladder. Zeus chose the

<sup>1</sup> The name and statue of Artemis Laphria were introduced from Aitolia in the time of Augustus ; Paus. vii, 18 ; but he calls the rites “ native ”.

bones, the portion that looked best (so that is why we still eat most of the sacrificed meat ourselves), but he really knew. (This looks like a charmingly naïve attempt to reconcile an old tale, in which God really was fooled, with the poet's own ideas of divine knowledge.) So then the Gods sent us the first woman, as a punishment, and Afterthought, Forethought's foolish brother, accepted the "beautiful evil" although Forethought had warned him never to accept any gift from Zeus; and she, Pandora, took the lid off the pot that contained all the Plagues, and they all flew out and have been flying about ever since.<sup>1</sup>

And yet in a sense Hesiod is happier than the chiefs for whom Homer sang. At any rate he is not obsessed, like Homer in his sadder moments, with the thought of death. The fact is that he has plenty to do. Homer's chiefs need not work, unless like Odysseus they do so for sheer joy in carpentry<sup>2</sup>; and one cannot always be "feasting while a divine minstrel sings". "Men must needs be sober, and think, by fits and starts, and when they think they fasten their hands upon their hearts." It is the man of leisure who is most likely to be grieved by the pity and pain of the world.

No, Hesiod has plenty of superstition, as we have seen, and as one may see further in the *Days*<sup>3</sup>—the fateful Fourth, the unlucky Fifth, the good days Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh; the Great Twentieth, and the Twenty-seventh or "Thrice-ninth", a good day for beginning things, "though few people know it"—but his true faith is in work, economy, and planning ahead, doing things in good time, as he keeps saying. In short, Hesiod is a worthy member of the band of Greek thinkers; hard-headed and, if affected by superstition, not overwhelmed by it; a true forerunner of those Ionians who almost in one stroke cut away from their lives the whole mass of the old irrational terrors of "natural man".

It is in keeping with this that Hesiod should be as he is

<sup>1</sup> *W.D.*, ll. 46–89; *aliter*, with more details, in *Theogony*, 520–616.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* xxiii, 188 ff.

<sup>3</sup> ll. 765–828.

a man of strong ethical sense. Greek ethical thought is great, even if it does not as with the great Hebrews occupy the whole field of interest ; and Hesiod makes some remarkable steps forward in this matter (ll. 202–292, 706–722).

“ Now will I speak a fable to princes who can understand of themselves. Thus said the hawk to the nightingale, as he bore her high in the clouds having pounced on her with his claws. She cried pitifully, pierc'd by his crooked claws ; but he said sternly to her :—

“ ‘ Madam, why do you shriek ? One far stronger has got you, and you shall go where I take you, tuneful though you be. I will make my dinner of you, if I will, or let you go. He is a fool who wishes to strive with those mightier than he ; he gets no victory and has pain as well as disgrace.’

“ So said the swift-flying hawk, that long-winged bird.”

So might seems to rule over right in this world ; and yet Hesiod holds fast to a belief in righteousness and a just God. He goes straight on :—

“ O Perses, but do you give ear to Right, and not aid violence.<sup>1</sup> Violence is an evil thing for a poor man ; even a noble man can not easily bear it, but it weighs him down, and he meets with ruin. Better is the way to pass by on the other side, to righteousness. Righteousness surpasses violence in the end—as even a fool sees after he has suffered. For straightway Oath<sup>2</sup> runs after crooked judgments ; and there is a tumult when the Right is dragged this way and that, wheresoever men lead her, men who take bribes and give decision with crooked judgments. And she goes weeping by the city and abodes of the people, clad in darkness, bringing evil to men who drive her out and do not deal straightly. But they who give straight judgments

<sup>1</sup> These lines and the whole passage (ll. 213–285) deserve to be a *locus classicus* for the meaning of these two important Greek words : *Δικη*, originally “ natural way of doing things ” ; so, here, Justice, judgment, judicial decision, righteousness, right (in sense of “ one's rights ”, also) ; and *ὕβρις*—in Athenian tragedy regularly the Pride that goes before a fall, and in Athenian law-courts “ assault and battery ” ; I render “ violence ”.

<sup>2</sup> For this semi-personal Spirit, cf. *Theogony*, 231–2 : Strife, the daughter of Night, brought him forth to be a plague to perjurors.

both to citizen and stranger and depart not from that which is righteous—their city prospers and the people flourish as the flowers ; and Peace the nurse of children is in their land, nor ever does far-seeing Zeus devise grievous war for them ; nor does famine come upon straight-dealing men, nor destruction, but they go about their work in plenty. The earth gives them an ample living, and on the mountains the oak bears acorns atop and honey-bees in its midst ; the woolly sheep are weighed down by their fleeces, and the women bear children who are like their fathers, and they prosper with good things every way ; nor do they fare abroad in ships, but the earth, the grain-giver, brings forth her increase.

“ But they whose thought is of violence and cruel deeds—for them far-seeing Zeus devises judgment. Often a whole city suffers for an evil man, who sins and devises deeds of madness. On them the son of Kronos brings great woe from heaven, even famine and pestilence together, and the people perish ; nor do their women bring forth, and their households decrease, by the counsel of Olympian Zeus ; or at another time he destroys their great army or their walls, or brings vengeance upon their ships on the sea.”

Warfare is mentioned in the poem only in this passage. Among other points of interest one notices also the evidence of the use of acorns as food, and the derogatory reference to seafaring of which, as we shall see, Hesiod has a very poor opinion. It only just escapes being put in a list with war, pestilence, and famine, among the plagues from which the just are delivered. The hexameters of the rough old poem rise to considerable heights of beauty in the description of the blessings of the righteous, and the passage is strongly reminiscent of parts of the Psalms.

Hesiod goes on to reiterate his lesson ; Zeus has thirty thousand Watchers among men “ who watch over judgments and cruel deeds, clad in darkness, walking over all the earth ”, and when harm is done to Justice she complains to her father Zeus. “ Remembering this, ye princes, make straight your words, ye greedy for bribes, and utterly forget

crooked judgments. A man that devises evil for another devises evil for himself ; and evil counsel is most evil for the counsellor. All-seeing is the eye of Zeus, and marks all things"—and in short, he ends up triumphantly, the reason for being good is that it really does pay : " Now may I never be righteous among men, myself nor my son, for it is ill to be righteous, if the unrighteous shall have the greater right <sup>1</sup> ; but not yet do I think that wise Zeus will bring that to pass.

" O Perses, but do you lay this up in your heart, and give ear to right, and forget force altogether. For this is the law that the son of Kronos ordained for men : that fishes and beasts and flying fowls should eat each other, for there is no Right among them ; but to men he gave Right, which is much the best ; for if one will speak aright when he knows, to him wide-seeing Zeus gives prosperity ; but he who in bearing witness commits perjury of his own free will, and harming the Right commits irremediable sin, his posterity is left hard to find thereafter ; but a man who swears truly —his posterity thereafter is the better."

Once more the idea of solidarity in the family, and that the sins of the fathers are visited upon the children.

Then, a famous passage :—

" Now will I tell you this for your good, O foolish Perses : one may get evil in plenty and with ease ; smooth is the road and very near does it dwell ; but as for virtue, the gods have set effort in front of her. Long and steep is the path to her, and rough at first ; but when you reach the heights, then it is easy thereafter, even though so hard."

Those " two paths " recur again and again through all the moralizing literature of the west, from Simonides of Keos until to-day.

And now, having settled " the theory of the thing ", Hesiod gives eighty lines of practical advice (293-372) leading up to his central passage of the Farmer's Year.

" The best of men is he who devises all things for himself, marking what shall be better thereafter and in the end ; and good is he also who takes good advice ; but he who

<sup>1</sup> Evelyn-White's rendering.

neither devises for himself nor when he hears another lays it up in his heart—he is a useless man. But do you, ever remembering my bidding, work, noble Perses, so that hunger may hate you and fair-crowned Demeter may love you and fill your barn. . . . Both gods and men are indignant at the man who lives not working, like the dull drones in temper, who without working devour the labours of the honey-bees. . . . By work men grow rich in sheep and treasure, and dear to the gods. Work is no shame; not working is the shame. And if you work, soon the man who works not will envy you as you grow rich; and nobility and reputation follow after riches. . . . But it is a bad shame that goes with a man in poverty. . . . ”

Altogether Hesiod uses the word “ work ” thirteen times in eighteen lines in this passage.

“ . . . Yet wealth should not be snatched; wealth given of the gods is far better.” (For ill-gotten wealth brings ill-fortune after it.) And then—most striking teaching at that time: “ Who wrongs a suppliant or a stranger does a wrong as great as he who goes up to his brother’s bed to commit adultery . . . and he who in heedlessness sins against orphan children, as great as he who reviles his aged father on the threshold of old age, with bitter words; Zeus himself is angry with such a man.” A wrong done to the weak and helpless is as contemptible, that is, as the very blackest of sins against the family—a sin whose blackness all Hesiod’s neighbours would recognize because it threatened the very foundations of society. He who discusses the question whether the Greeks had any sense of chivalry should not forget the Boiotian farmer’s words. Next—with his usual eye to the main chance—he goes straight on:—“ But do you keep your proud heart wholly from such things; and according to your power do sacrifice to the immortal gods, in pure and holy fashion, and burn the fair thighs of oxen; and at other times too propitiate them with drink-offerings and incense, both when you lie down to rest and in the morning, that they may have a kindly heart towards you, and that you may buy another man’s farm and not another buy yours.”

Next, in amusingly jingling verse, some remarks on “thy neighbour,” and on giving and getting :—

“ Invite your friend to a dinner, but leave your enemy out ; and especially invite the man who lives near ; for if any trouble should arise in the village, neighbours come as they are, but kinsfolk stop to put coats on. A bad neighbour’s a trouble as great as a good one is a blessing. He has got a treasure who has got a good neighbour. Never an ox would die unless you’d got a bad neighbour. Take good measure from a neighbour, and repay well, with the same measure, and better, if you can, so that when you are in need you may get the more hereafter. Don’t go for ill-gotten gain ; ill gain spells ruin. Love him who loves you, and visit him who visits you, and give to him who gives, and not to him who does not. Give is good, but Grab is bad, a giver of death. . . . If you add a little to a little, and do it often, it makes much.” (Many a mickle makes a muckle.) “ At opening a jar and at ending eat your fill ; and be sparing in the middle ; it’s ill sparing when you’re down on the bottom. . . . In dealing with your brother, laughing, take a witness. Too much trust and mistrust have ruined men.” And don’t let a vain dressy woman catch you ; and leave one son behind you, or two at most—and with that we are abruptly launched on the Farmer’s Year.

After the directions for farming and seafaring, come more moral maxims (ll. 706–723). It is clear that to Hesiod farming right, treating your neighbours right, and avoiding “unlucky” behaviour are duties all of them on the same plane ; just as, in the religion of ancient Persia, Agriculture appears as one of the cardinal virtues.

“ Be careful to avoid the anger of the blessed gods. Do not put a friend on a level with a brother. . . . Do not lie wantonly ; but if a man first wrongs you in word or deed, repay him double, and don’t forget to ; but if then he seeks your friendship and is willing to submit to judgment, accept his offer. . . . And don’t get a reputation as an entertainer of everyone, or of none, nor as a friend of the bad, nor a slanderer of the good. And do not make a man’s grievous poverty a

reproach to him—it is given him by the gods.” (Once more, that compunction about hurting the unfortunate.) “A sparing tongue is the best of treasures, and a well-controlled one the greatest of pleasures. But if you speak ill, you may hear worse. And don’t be boorish at a party . . . and don’t pour a drink-offering with unwashen hands . . .”—and with that we are launched on those maxims for the avoidance of ill-luck that we have discussed already.

On one more matter also Hesiod’s voice is for us the voice of the Dark Ages in Greece: seafaring.

Characteristically, the first thing he tells us is at what season of the year not to do it at all.

“But if desire of uncomfortable seafaring comes upon you—then, when the Pleiads, flying before strong Orion, plunge into the misty deep, then do the blasts of all the winds blow; and then you must no longer keep your ships upon the sea but work your land carefully as I bid you. Draw the ship up on shore and prop her up with stones, and take out the bilge-plug so that the rain may not rot her timbers, and store all the tackle in your house, folding up carefully the wings of the ocean-faring ship; and hang up the rudder in the smoke above your hearth” (where such other important pieces of property as the householder’s spear and shield also hung, dry and out of harm’s way, when not in use). “And do you yourself wait till the sailing season comes; then launch your ship on the sea and set cargo enough on board, that you may bring home gain—as once my father and yours, O foolish Perses, used to sail in ships and seek his fortune”—until at last, adds Hesiod, he gave up the struggle with poverty and left Aiolic Kyme, and came and settled here by Helikon in this miserable Askra.

“But do you, Perses, remember to do all things in due season—especially seafaring.” Still the same insistence on the proper time.

“Now if you turn your spirited soul to trading in your desire to avoid need and cheerless hunger, I will tell you the measures of the roaring sea, though I myself have no skill in seafaring and ships”—having in fact never crossed

the sea farther than across the sound to Euboia where I won a tripod for epic recitation, at the funeral games of Amphidamas of Chalkis. Still I will tell you, by the inspiration of the Muses.

There is, by the way, nothing absurd in this, as Beloch has alleged, for Hesiod does not proceed to tell sailors how to handle their sheets or tie knots. What he was is an expert in applied astronomy, and it is precisely on this subject, the choice of the proper sailing season, that he gives advice. "Fifty days after the solstice, until the end of the hot weather" is the season that he allows. In that season you will not come to grief "unless Zeus or Poseidon really intend to sink you." But you must not wait for "the new wine and the autumn rains" and the south-westerly gales. All through Greek history the setting of the Pleiads (October) is taken as the very end of the season after which it is suicidal to set sail. St. Paul's ship was wrecked as a sequel to the imprudence of an autumn sailing, and the Anthology has a "cautionary rhyme" on the sad fate of the gentleman who went to sea at the sinking of the Pleiads, and sank when they did.<sup>1</sup>

"There is also a spring sailing; when the leaves on the tree-tops look to a man as big as a crow's footprint, then the sea is passable. That is the spring sailing; but I do not like it. It has to be snatched; you will scarcely avoid disaster; and yet men will do even that, in their foolishness. Riches are as life, to poor mortals; but it is a terrible thing to die amid the waves. But I bid you take heed of all this, as I tell you. Do not put all you have on board your ship. Leave most of it at home, and trade with less than half. It is a bad thing to come to grief at sea, as it is if you overload your waggon, and break the axle, and your load is spoiled. Have regard to measure; and the right time is best in all things."

With this sage sentiment Hesiod leaves the matter. To him, then, seafaring is at most a method of making a little extra profit, if your farm is fairly near the coast. Seven

<sup>1</sup> A.P. vii, 534.

weeks for the voyage out and home are enough ; the sailor in Hesiod is simply a farmer trading his surplus produce and returning to his farm. The verdict of the next few generations was against Hesiod there, and it is well that it was ; such caution as his would never have produced a civilization less drab than that which he knew ; and the mainspring of the whole movement of the Greek Renaissance was commerce and colonization over sea.

Such, then, in its work and play and faith, is the world of Hesiod, and such, we may suppose, were many of the hard-working and intelligent farmers whose labours laid the strong economic foundations of the culture that was to be. The influence of the *Works and Days* was itself very great ; its lines are quoted, echoed, and paraphrased in all parts of the Greek world : in the seventh century by Archilochos and Semonides, in the sixth by Alkaios and repeatedly by Solon and Theognis. By the end of that century, Xenophanes and Herakleitos pay him the compliment of attack. And all this is from a literature of which only scattered fragments are known to us at all.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Sinclair's Introduction, pp. xxx ff., for a full list. Cf. especially Semonides, frag. 6, on women, with *W.D.* 702-3 ; Alkaios, frag. 89 (Diehl), with *W.D.* 584 ff. Both passages most ingeniously and closely paraphrase Hesiod in their widely differing metres.

## CHAPTER III

### THE PSYCHOLOGY AND PRACTICE OF MAGIC

WE have had occasion to describe in some detail the magical rites performed by many early Greek communities at their chief festivals. It will not be irrelevant, and may help our understanding of the mentality of early Greeks (and indeed of all humanity), to consider more systematically the psychological traits that magic implies. We shall find them to be universal (though latent in those who have felt the influence of rationalism, in so far as we have been well brought up)—universal in man, and clearly implied in the behaviour of some other species ; a fact not without its bearing on a current anthropological controversy, that of the Diffusion of Early Culture.

The deserted girl in the Second Idyll of Theokritos sets about charming back her lover by means of an image made of wax ; a wheel, to which she has tied a bird, the wryneck ; a fire, into which she drops bay-leaves that crackle and blaze, and over which she shreds, thread by thread, a hem that the errant youth lost from his cloak, and melts the wax of her image ; and other “ properties ”, including a *rhombos*, which may be that toy not unknown to European children, and sacred to Australian aborigines, the bull-roarer. The bay-leaves are “ good medicine ” because of the satisfactory crackle and flare that they make, and the *rhombos* because of its impressive sound. She prays, or rather *wishes* : “ As this wax melts, so may he be melted by love. As these bay-leaves are consumed and leave not an ash behind, so may the fire of love consume him. As this wheel turns, so may he turn and turn about my doors.” She crushes a lizard, and sends her maid to smear its blood about the doorway

of Delphis' house ; as she does so she is to spit (for luck—surrendering something of one's self, to placate the envy of any jealous occult Powers) and to say " It is the bones of Delphis that I crush ". The image represents the young man, Delphis, himself, and the hem of his garment, being his and having been in close contact with him, ought by all the rules to give her power over him. The purpose of the bird attached to the wheel is not so clear, but it also represents Delphis who is to " turn and turn about my doors ". (Frazer tells how in order to bring back a runaway slave, an Arab of North Africa will trace a circle on the ground and tether a beetle to a nail stuck in in the middle of it. As the beetle, crawling round, shortens its tether, so will the slave, they believe, inevitably be impelled to come back.<sup>1</sup> And if the poor starving fugitive knows that his master is a skilled magician, who can say that it will not be so ?)

And if she cannot bring him back, mutters the girl in Theokritos, she knows such herbs as will make him knock on the gates of Hades. The night is still and, as something makes the dogs howl in the city outside her garden, she feels the very presence of her goddess, Hekate, the infernal and nocturnal phase of the personality of Artemis, passing through the town.

In all this, Simaitha is using a technique that is absolutely world wide. Images may be used to capture, or recapture, the objects of one's passion, or (more frequently) to destroy an enemy. Frazer<sup>2</sup> quotes instances from North, Central, and South American Indians ; from various parts of Australia ; from China and Japan (both among the Japanese and the Ainu) and among the Mongols of Central Asia ; from Sumatra, Malaya, Burma, and Ceylon ; from India, both among Moslems and Hindus and primitive tribes ; from Africa, among the Ovambo of the south-west, the Matabele, the Baganda, and the Moslems of the north ; and from the British Isles, where a case was reported in Scotland

<sup>1</sup> Frazer, " The Magic Art " (G.B., vol. i), p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> Ib., pp. 52-70, except for the cases of the Mongols, Baganda, and Korkus (a central Indian jungle tribe), for which see *The Scapegoat*, pp. 7-8.

as recently as the issue of the *Weekly Scotsman*, for 24th August, 1889. Still more recently, an image was found in the bedroom of a domestic servant in an Oxfordshire village, with her hairpin stuck through its heart, and intended to capture the affections of the village policeman.<sup>1</sup> Among the ancient civilizations we hear of the same technique among Greeks of the classical age,<sup>2</sup> Romans,<sup>3</sup> Assyrians,<sup>4</sup> Egyptians<sup>5</sup> (in the time of Rameses III), and in India,<sup>6</sup> in the *Rig-Veda* and *Atharva-Veda*. In the Assyrian and Egyptian instances, the use of the victim's hair, spittle, nail-parings, or shreds of clothing is well established.

Various amusing embellishments of the rite occur. For instance, in Peru the image should be made of maize-meal and llama-fat if directed against an Indian, but of wheat-flour and pig-fat for a "foreigner". Among semi-literate populations the mysterious art of writing may be introduced, as in Malabar, where the name of one's enemy is written on the breast of the image. Among the North Indian Moslems, the fashioning of the image is accompanied by the reading of certain sentences from the Koran, backwards, as in the Black Mass of medieval Christendom. In Malaya the image must or should contain some of the nail-parings, hair, and spittle of one's victim, "to represent every part of his person." It is made of wax from a deserted bees' comb, and is then roasted over a lamp every night for seven nights to the accompaniment of the words "It is not wax that I scorch ; it is the liver, heart, and spleen of —— that I am scorching". Or one may pray over it as over the dead and then bury it in a path where one's victim will be sure to pass, muttering as one digs, "It is not I who bury him ; it is the angel Gabriel who is burying him ! "

To bury the image in a path or roadway is one of the

<sup>1</sup> Marett, *Man in the Making*, p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Plato, *Laws*, xi, p. 933b.

<sup>3</sup> Ovid, *Heroides*, vi, 91-2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Campbell Thompson in the Harmsworth *Universal History*, p. 971.

<sup>5</sup> Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, pp. 78 ff. (From the Papyrus Harris).

<sup>6</sup> *Rig-Veda*, iii, 523 ; *Atharva-Veda*, i, 72 ; see Jevons, in *Anthropology and the Classics*, p. 101.

commonest ways of using it ; this may be done either in order to "get even" with an enemy, or to get rid of an illness by passing it on to someone else. "Thus among the Baganda the medicine-man would make a model of his patient in clay ; then a relative of the sick man would rub the image over the sufferer's body" (to get it thoroughly "infected") "and either bury it in the road or hide it in the grass by the wayside. The first person who stepped over the image or passed by it would be sure to catch the disease".<sup>1</sup> One is not surprised to hear that this beneficent practice was a capital crime. Here, then, we find the explanation of what Plato (*loc. cit.*) means when he speaks, in passing, of the fear which unsophisticated people, who knew no better, would naturally feel "if they chance to see waxen images sticking to their doors or to the tombstones of their fathers, or lying in the cross-roads". (The Roman also had a method of "passing on" disease not unlike that cited from among the Baganda ; it was to stick the patient's nail-parings with wax on to a neighbour's door, before sunrise<sup>2</sup>—very much what Simaitha's maid in *Theokritos* was to do with her decoction of lizard. The disease, like Simaitha's fever of love, would then pass on to the owner of the door.) But the commonest fate for an image, if intended for the discomfiture of an enemy, is to be roasted, as described already, or transfixes with pins—the technique mentioned by Ovid (*loc. cit.*) and also practiced by Horace's *Canidia*.<sup>3</sup> You can thus give your neighbour colic by a jab in the stomach or rheumatic pains by transfixing the image's joints. You must not pierce a vital part unless you wish to kill him outright.

To get possession of your victim's hair-clippings, nail-parings, spittle, or a drop of his blood is recommended from many parts of the world. Failing this, a rag of his clothing will do, and the "sense" of this too is clear enough, once one has put one's self in a sufficiently childish frame of mind ; for "as every dog knows", to quote the sound remark of a

<sup>1</sup> Frazer, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *N.H.* xxviii, c. 86. This whole book is full of interest for the student of superstitions.

<sup>3</sup> *Satires*, i.

modern writer,<sup>1</sup> anything that has been in close contact with anyone's person has "something of him" about it. Hence the popularity of handkerchiefs or locks of hair as love-tokens.

Finally, anything is "strong medicine" that is mysterious or nocturnal or generally "creepy". Hence the popularity of toads in pre-scientific medicine. Hence Simaitha's lizard. Hence superstitions about the serpent, or the owl<sup>2</sup>; hence the medieval witch's cat. "There's something about that beast . . .," as many people have felt. Virgil's Dido,<sup>3</sup> making her anti-love magic, has as her chief and most unpleasant ingredient the membrane supposed to cover the head of a foal when it was born; it was popularly supposed to be usually eaten by the dam, and that if it were not so eaten the dam would not love her foal. Obviously, this could be used to promote love between human beings! Therewith she has herbs reaped by moonlight—for black or individual magic is a hole-and-corner affair that shuns the light of day—with a sickle of bronze; once more that feeling that iron, the new-fangled metal, can have no dealings with the supernatural. This is why ghosts and goblins even to this day cannot touch or cross cold iron.

Greek literature is on the whole so magnificently free from all such rubbish as this that the question is not unreasonable, whether we are justified in passing from negroes and Malays and from Theokritos (who, after all was writing when the best days of Greece were over, and describes very possibly a scene in cosmopolitan Alexandria), to a theory about the Greeks of the great age. The answer is that we are justified. Greeks of a good type did not let superstition worry them—especially the educated people who were brought up on Homer. Nevertheless, the attitude of mind that issues in magic was there, below the surface, everywhere. We have

<sup>1</sup> Grace Hadow, in a broadcast talk; see *The Listener*, 28th June, 1938. Cf. p. 51 for a modern recrudescence of superstition about nail-parings, clothing, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Felt to be ill-omened by Greeks, in spite of Athene's patronage; cf., e.g., *Gk. Anthology*, xi, 186.

<sup>3</sup> *Aeneid*, iv, 505 ff.

seen something of it in Hesiod, and a great deal of it underlying and inspiring the peasant religion of early Greece ; and with the sixth-century religious revival, all manner of hoary taboos will be found emerging from their obscurity and attached to the great names of Pythagoras and Orpheus, appearing for a moment in the light of day. For the world-wide image-technique in classical Greece, Plato's casual remark about the fears of his weaker brethren is decisive ; and not only Rome but Athens thought it worth while to have a law corresponding to that of the Hebrews : Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.<sup>1</sup>

Witchcraft was quite well known, then, in ancient Greece ; if further proof is needed, it is supplied by the *defixiones*. Scores of these have been unearthed in Attica<sup>2</sup> ; little tablets of metal, on which people had written the names of their enemies and then pierced the tablet with a nail and hidden it in the ground. "*Ονομα καταδῶ καὶ αὐτὸν*, adds one such tablet : I fix down his name and himself. If your enemy is, say, Kallias, and his name, written down, is also Kallias, then it follows that by writing Kallias on a scrap of lead and driving a nail through it into the ground you have effectually "fixed" Kallias ;—devoting him to the earth and the powers under the earth. It is an example of the primitive and natural failure to make any distinction between the name and the thing. If a person *is* what we call him, then clearly the name is the person. The Greek who wrote *ὄνομα καταδῶ καὶ αὐτὸν* was evidently beginning to feel that there was a distinction, but hoped it didn't matter. Hence develops the widespread belief, familiar to us from many fairy-tales,—“Rumpelstiltzkin” is a good one—that if you knew the real name of a man or “dæmon”, then that man or dæmon was to some extent in your power.

Stray references show the presence in Greece of other

<sup>1</sup> The Twelve Tables provide for the punishment of anyone “qui malum carmen [tr. “formula”] incantavit” ; and at Athens a law is quoted in the Demosthenic or certainly fourth-century speech *Against Aristogeiton* : Φαρμακέα καὶ φαρμακίδα καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ γένος ἀπαν ἀποκτεῖναι. “And his family” is characteristic. Cf. pp. 114 ff.

<sup>2</sup> C.I.A., *Appendix continens defixionum tabellas*.

superstitions also, of a widespread and primitive type. On the fifth day of life Greek babies received presents of octopuses and cuttlefish.<sup>1</sup> Greeks did eat such things, so the presents would be not unacceptable to the child's mother ; but the point of the present was to give the child a good grip on the good things of life. Frazer<sup>2</sup> compares the Cherokees, who scratch their children's hands with the claws of a live red crawfish, for the same purpose. So, much later, Aelian<sup>3</sup> assures us that to eat the flesh of the wakeful nightingale was a cure for excessive somnolence ; that the gall of an eagle, rubbed on the eyes, would give eagle sight even to the half-blind ; and that raven's eggs, rubbed on grey hair, would make it black again. Such beliefs are world-wide, but once more the Cherokees are convenient.<sup>4</sup> Among them the fisherman ties the carnivorous plant "Venus' fly-trap" to his fish-trap, chews the plant while he works and spits on the bait—all to infect his apparatus with the "catchiness" of the plant. And members of a Cherokee team for the national ball-game will avoid eating the flesh of the hog-sucker, lest its sluggish ways should make them slow, or rabbit, lest they become timorous ; and their friends, sad to relate, will make soup of rabbits' hamstrings and sprinkle it surreptitiously in their opponents' path.

In Greece the disease jaundice was called ikteros ; and this happened to be also the name of some species of yellow bird ; so of course the bird was thought to be a remedy for the disease, by a sort of homœopathic treatment ; just as South German peasants sometimes keep the gay-coloured crossbill as a cage-bird as a preventive against the skin-disease called St. Anthony's fire.<sup>5</sup> Another example of homœopathic "preventive medicine" is that when a Greek died of dropsy it was thought advisable that his children should sit with their feet in water until his cremation was finished, lest the disease should attack them.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Σ on Plato, *Theaitetos*, p. 160 A.

<sup>2</sup> G.B. i, p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> *Natural History*, i, 42, 43, and 48.

<sup>4</sup> G.B. i, pp. 144, 155.

<sup>5</sup> Ib., pp. 79–82 ; Σ on Ar., *Birds*, l. 268 ; Σ on Plato, *Gorgias*, p. 494 B ; Pliny, *N.H.* xxx, 94.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch, *Delays of Divine Vengeance*, c. 14.

Lest we be thought to be making too much use of information from late writers—superstitions that *might* have crept in from abroad instead of being primitive in Greece—the traditional stories of Greece give several examples of the same order of ideas. Homer, we have seen, does not ; there is augury in Homer, and divine intervention—far too much of it for modern taste ; and there is “second sight”, and a horse that talks, and there are ogres and monsters and changes of shape ; but all these things except a little prophesying have to do with the gods (such as Proteus and Kirke) or their gifts (such as the horse Xanthos) or with the fairyland described in Odysseus’ after-dinner stories. They are not allowed to affect the ordinary manhood of the heroes. Homer tells of Meleagros without mentioning how he was destroyed by burning that brand from the fire with which his life was “sympathetically” linked<sup>1</sup> ; or of the wars of Nestor’s young days, against Herakles,<sup>2</sup> against Elis,<sup>3</sup> or among the Lapithai of Thessaly,<sup>4</sup> without letting the old gentleman mention such exciting details as the shape-changing propensities of his own brother Periklymenos,<sup>5</sup> or the “Siamese twin” shape of the two sons of Aktor,<sup>6</sup> or even the monstrous form of the centaurs. It is a genuine case of “expurgation”, for in tales that Homer has not worked over, we do find primitive ideas in plenty.

For instance, two famous Greek stories introduce the feeling that the agency that did anything ought to be best able to undo it—the world-wide idea of “a hair of the dog that bit you” as a remedy. Telephos, King of Mysia, finding that the wound that Achilles dealt him would not heal, was told that it would only be healed by the spear that dealt it. Euripides, taking the traditional magical element in the story for granted, made a famous and, in its time, shockingly realistic play out of the adventures of the king when he journeys, disguised as a beggar, to the court of

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* ix, 527–599 ; cf. Apollod., i, 8, 1 ff., etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* xi, 689–693.

<sup>3</sup> Ib., 670–762.

<sup>4</sup> *Il.* i, 260–272.

<sup>5</sup> Apollodorus, i, 9, 9.

<sup>6</sup> Σ on *Il.* xi, 709, quoting Pherekydes (= frag. 86).

his mortal foe.<sup>1</sup> In another cycle, the hero Phylakos was gelding rams (a good example of the early Greek chieftain at home, working on his farm among his men) when his little son Iphiklos came up. Phylakos incautiously laid down the bloody knife beside him. The child ran away frightened, and Phylakos then stuck the knife into a tree close by, where as it happened he forgot about it. Years passed ; the bark grew over the knife, and Iphiklos grew to manhood ; but he was impotent—the proximity of the gelding-knife had harmed him. (One is reminded of Hesiod on the dangers of letting a baby boy sit on a tomb.) At last Phylakos laid the trouble before Melampous the seer—Melampous who could understand the language of beasts and birds, like Siegfried, ever since two snakes, which when they were little he had saved from being killed with their parents, had licked his ears, in gratitude. Melampous slaughtered two oxen, and when the birds assembled in hope of a feast he laid the question before them. An old Vulture at once gave the correct answer and prescribed a remedy. The knife must be dug out of the tree, the rust scraped from its blade, and Iphiklos must take some of the rust in his drink every day for ten days. In this way Iphiklos was enabled to leave a son behind him.<sup>2</sup>

In exactly the spirit of the Telephos story, Pliny (*N.H.* xxviii, c. 36) advises that if you wish to alleviate a wound you should spit on the hand that dealt it ; and Frazer (*op. cit.*, pp. 202-3) quotes examples from Bavaria and also from Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, and Essex, of people carefully anointing the rusty nail or gatepost on which they may have scratched themselves, while neglecting the wound itself—sometimes with fatal results. No less a person than Lord Chancellor Bacon gives the same advice “upon the relation of men of credit, though myself as yet am not fully inclined to believe it”. And if one cannot get the actual weapon, then one should draw blood from the wound with a weapon as like it as possible, and anoint that.

<sup>1</sup> Aristoph., *Clouds*, 920 ff. and Σ; *Acharnians*, 325 ff., 480 ff., and ΣΣ.

<sup>2</sup> Apollod., i, 9, 12.

There is a remarkable similarity, then, between many of the superstitions and magical practices of the most diverse peoples all the world over. But there are great difficulties in the way of the theory, that this results from the diffusion all over the world of an archaic culture from one common centre. For one thing, the earliest variation of the use of a magic image known to us is palæolithic ; so at any rate the art of magic cannot be attached to the theory of the diffusion of culture from dynastic Egypt. In a cave in Southern France was found a clay model of a bear, with a real bear's skull for its head ; and its body was gashed on all sides by the spear-points of the palæolithic hunters who—can one doubt it ?—gave themselves confidence and felt that they won power over the beast by thus enacting its death in ritual before they went out on its trail. And the same was probably the purpose of the many and fine cave-paintings of animals, mammoth and boar and bison, reindeer and salmon, and other creatures, executed by palæolithic man in North-Eastern Spain—works of art whose fellows are now coming to light over a vast area in Fezzan and even farther afield. Why else the drawing of the arrows that hang from some mammoths' shaggy sides, as though giving a superficial but probably poisonous wound ; or, in at least one case, the painting, in the correct position, of a large red heart ?

The fact is that magic is the natural expression of man's pre-rational or pre-Hellenic habits of thought : and these habits of thought represent simply the natural and normal functioning of the human mind. The logical thought and scientific methods which seem so natural to us, at least in our more intellectual and reflective moments, are really a highly artificial affair ; in essentials, an invention of the Greeks. Reasoning—even in the most rational of us—is a habit cultivated during education, not an instinctive process by any means. Our ordinary impulses and reactions and intuitions function, sometimes with astonishing effectiveness, on quite other lines.

Inevitably, the primitive human attitude to the world is what, if systematized into a belief (which, of course, it

generally was not), might be called the attitude of animism. As modern metaphysicians insist, the only reality directly and immediately known to us is our own conscious being. The realization that the being of the non-living "things" about us, of which we become conscious through sensation, is in important respects unlike our own is a lesson that needs to be learnt. How is a child or a savage to know that all the world is *not* alive like him?

Secondly, various other distinctions which it becomes second nature to us to make, among our concepts concerning the external world, are not natural to us and are not made by savages, nor by young children among our own race. Notably, no distinction is drawn between efficient cause and any other kind of connection, even a mere superficial resemblance, between two things or events.

(Incidentally it may be noticed that the concept of "things", far from being a completely and perfectly satisfactory refinement of thought, leads to hopeless floundering as soon as one tries to think about it philosophically—that is, systematically; as has been emphasized by many philosophers from Berkeley to Bradley. And the concept of Causation is in no better case. However, both concepts have been and are very useful as working instruments. Their importance to us here is that both of them mark the drawing of important and valid distinctions in man's thought about the external world, which primitive man had not drawn, and which no man had ever drawn *systematically* before the Greeks.)

It is inevitable therefore, that children have "an inherent tendency to animistic and magical conceptions",<sup>1</sup> which lasts until, in our civilization, they pick up the serviceable though unphilosophic concepts of Things and Causes, from their elders. A child (like some people who ought to know better) will rebuke the stone over which he has tripped; or he offers the railway engine a bun, or thinks that the sun follows him, or feels that there is a connection between his

<sup>1</sup> J. W. C. Dougall, *Characteristics of African Thought*, p. 11 (International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, Memorandum X); a valuable essay, to which the next few pages are deeply indebted.

thought and external events. " Sometimes children think the opposite from what they want, as if reality made a point of foiling their desires."<sup>1</sup> This is a common feeling, and one which the present writer remembers among the strongest of his own childish superstitions. It still often crops up on occasions when the intelligence is relaxed or functioning at a low level, as when watching a cricket match or playing bridge. This notion of a deliberately hostile reality, which the Greeks developed into their theory of an envious God<sup>2</sup> and the fall that follows pride, is, of course, a development from the fact that we remember with particular acuteness those occasions when reality did thwart our wishes, and especially when we or other people have been brought low in a moment of complete self-confidence. Hence the insults, to avert envy, which are so prominent in the ritual of Demeter and Dionysos. Again, children may think of things as having a sympathy for each other that will make them " stick to their friends ". Hence the practice, sometimes used when a ball is lost in a hedge or among bushes, of " sending another one to look for it ". You throw a second ball after the first and watch carefully where it goes. In this as in so many superstitions there is a grain of truth, for it may quite well happen that two balls will end by rolling down into the same corner ; and one or two successes will, of course, confirm anyone, against any number of failures, in a belief in the practice throughout the rest of one's pre-rational life. Again, a little girl mentioned by Piaget, having won marbles from an opponent, would not use these marbles again, and explained that she felt they would have a tendency to go back to their old surroundings and their former owner. Both these last instances are clear examples of what Lévy-Bruhl in his work on savages calls the " law of Participation "—the supposing of a mysterious connexion between things or events, where we should see no causal relation ; the same supposition, of which Frazer and the Greek writers have already shown us so many examples.

<sup>1</sup> Piaget, *The Child's Conception of the World*, based on his studies of children at Geneva ; quoted by Dougall, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> τὸ θεῖον φθονερόν : Hdt. i, 32.

Such an animistic outlook, such a tendency to see psychic and not physical causes everywhere, does, further, characterize the thought of the unconscious mind, as described by the psychoanalysts.<sup>1</sup> Here again we find all reality apparently mental—hence Freud's phrase, the “omnipotence of thought” in the phantasies of the unconscious. And here again our notion of causation, of course, does not exist; we are back at the primitive. Hence in dreams anything may symbolize anything else, if there is even the most superficial resemblance between their appearance or function, or even if their names have some slight resemblance. To give a Greek example, Alexander, as he lay before the obstinately defended city of Tyre, is said to have dreamed he saw a satyr; and the interpreters bade him be of good cheer, for it portended that σὰ Τύπος, “Tyre is thine.”<sup>2</sup> Whatever the *sa-* meant, the story rings true, the syllables *-tyros* alone would, according to the psychologists, be amply sufficient to bring the grinning monster before the mind's eye of the baffled general. We are reminded of the all-pervading primitive feeling of the significance of puns and plays on words, and especially on proper names. It is in no joking spirit that the old men of the chorus in the *Agamemnon* play bitterly with the fancied derivation of Helen's name from ελένη: the Wrecker of lives, the Wrecker of ships, the Wrecker of towns; and so again, in Esau's exceeding bitter cry: “Is he not rightly named Jacob, seeing he hath supplanted me these two times?”

Freud in his *Totem und Tabu* has a chapter on this “perfectly animistic” attitude of the unconscious mind as underlying the whole system of magic; but it is not only within the straitest sect of the psychoanalysts that the fundamental resemblance between the unconscious mental processes of men of the most diverse race is recognized. For instance, Seligman<sup>3</sup> draws attention to the common recurrence

<sup>1</sup> Dougall, op. cit., pp. 13–16; Ernest Jones, “Psycho-Analysis and Anthropology,” in *J.R.A.I.*, liv.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch's *Alexander*, c. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Presidential address to the Anthropological Institute, 1924; see *J.R.A.I.*, liv, esp. pp. 41–6.

both among civilized and uncivilized peoples in Europe, China, Japan, other parts of Asia, and Africa, of the same types of dream, especially such typical dreams as that one is climbing or flying, or has lost a tooth ; while both in China and Europe professional men, who have been through the mill of an examination-system, have produced the "examination dream" as a common symbol of anxiety.

How, from these facts of psychology, there develops universally the same elaborate technique of magic, it is not hard to see.

All thought and feeling is bound up with action. *Im Anfang war der That.* If our feelings are stirred and the way to action does not lie open, discomfort results—discomfort which may be expressed, and our feelings somewhat relieved, by "going through the movements" of the things we would like to do, even if only in a curtailed and symbolic manner. The members of a hostile crowd may scream and spit and shake their fists at the man they feel they would gladly tear limb from limb. It is not unknown for the driver of a car up a stiff hill to find himself leaning forward "to help" (exactly as a child tries to make the boat go faster by jerking its body on the seat) or for a car-passenger, who feels that his driver is going much too fast, to press his feet on the floorboards where the brake-pedal would be if he were driving. Feeling against a fallen ruler or statesman may vent itself on his portraits or statues, as often in the history of Rome—an expression of exactly the same feeling that gave rise to the image-technique in black magic. Feeling directed to no specific object finds vent in more generalized movements, as when an audience stirred to transports of enthusiasm by an orator rises and cheers and waves its arms, or when a man who "really knows better" nevertheless "touches wood". He feels that he has made an over-confident remark and vaguely wants to "do something about it".

Emotions of sympathy may be expressed by such rudimentary traces of action, too. I have seen a mother sheep-dog twitching and whimpering with excitement as, obedient to command, she lay still, watching her puppy's earliest and

unskilful efforts to round up sheep ; and Köhler<sup>1</sup> has a delicious picture of one of his chimpanzees, the clever Sultan, who likewise had been ordered not to help, squatting with arm upraised in an involuntary "sympathetic" movement as another ape, having solved the problem of piling up some packing cases, raises her hands to grasp the coveted bananas suspended above her head. So it is with the soccer fan whose leg twitches as, in common with his thousands of fellow-supporters, he howls "Shoot !" or with the boy who rises on tip-toe at the critical moment, as his friend rises to the high jump. If one watches a person whose reactions are naive, at a football match in which he is deeply interested and at which the spectators have plenty of room to move about, such as a school house match, one may see something physically as well as psychologically very like the war dance of the savage.

We, being well brought up, may laugh at ourselves for such performances, or defend them on the purely psychological ground that it relieves our feelings. But how is the savage to know that so obviously satisfactory a proceeding does not objectively do any good ? On the contrary, it does do some good ; it makes him personally feel much better, and for that reason very likely makes him act more efficiently when he passes on to ordinary common-sense action. Black magic may even achieve its purpose of killing an enemy ; if he hears that a rite of proved efficacy has been performed against him, he will quite possibly lie down and waste away, "through the power of suggestion ", as we should say. (If he does not die, it merely shows that his defensive magic has been too effective.) And as for the "white" magic that a community may perform for the fertility of its crops, it at any rate fills the farmer with peace of mind, and more and more so in proportion as the ritual becomes more impressive.

Magic arises, then, from the irrational rudimentary actions which people perform when they are anxious or enthusiastic, that is when their feelings are stirred but when no rational action is immediately demanded. Hesiod or a

<sup>1</sup> *M mentality of Apes*, p. 188.

modern African negro may alike show industry and ingenuity in their daily work ; the same African on the hunting trail or the warpath will show dash, cunning, and a capacity for planning. In hunting or guerrilla warfare the white stranger to his country will probably have much to learn from him. But when man's fears and anxieties are uppermost—that is to say *before* the time for action has come—he will be found ensuring success by agricultural magic or the sacred and well-proved ritual of the war dance. (So, too, in parts of Asia, Africa, and America, the women dance a war-dance while the men are away on a campaign.<sup>1)</sup>

The only practical disadvantage about his proceedings is that if his plans go agley he is likely to lay the blame on some psychic cause—omission of some rite, neglect of an omen, offence against a god, or the counter-magic of an enemy. Thus the pseudo-science of ritual and omens becomes ever more elaborate. The way to the cold-blooded investigation of material causes is thus barred, and pre-Hellenic or un-Hellenized man is unlikely to improve his methods, except in details, unless a discovery is fairly thrust upon him by circumstances, or brought in by contact with foreigners.

Conversely, if you do not want a thing to happen, you avoid doing anything which even remotely suggests it or in any other way might be unlucky ; just as we, though we may realize that there is no causal connection, if anxious for ourselves or for another, try not to think and prefer not to talk about that which we fear. In Borneo when a warrior is on the warpath, his wife, or if he is unmarried his sister, must wear a sword night and day, that he may always be thinking of his weapons ; must not sleep by day, nor go to bed before about two in the morning, lest he be overcome by sleep and so be caught by the enemy ; must not oil her hair, or he may slip. So likewise, when the Dyaks are away hunting, the women touch neither oil nor water, lest the hunters become “butter-fingered”. Chastity on the part of all the women at all such times is most important ; this is reported from many regions, East Africa, Bolivia, Mexico,

<sup>1</sup> Frazer, G.B. i, pp. 132-3.

Sarawak, and the Aleutian Islands in the North Pacific. Among the Lapps, no one will do a thing so obviously ill-omened as to quench a firebrand in water while any of the family is out fishing. Among the Eskimo when the hunters are out on the ice, the chief danger is that the ice may crack and drift off; so to avoid precipitating this disaster, no bedding must be lifted from the floor, and no hewing or pounding or work of any kind involving noise be done.<sup>1</sup> And for the same reason, at every Greek sacrifice the command was given, *Εὖφημεῖτε*, “ Speak good words only ! ” and, since gods are little cattle and there is no saying what may not offend the unseen powers in one way or another, the devout Hellene felt it safest not to speak at all. For an ill omen is a terrible thing. To us, to stub one’s toe in the gateway when starting out, or for a barrister to drop his glasses as he rises to speak, is irritating ; and admittedly, in some critical position where one needs to be at one’s best, to be thrown out of one’s stride and put out of humour may have serious consequences ; but to pre-rationalist man—to an ancient Roman, for example—such a stumble at starting is a far more serious matter.

We need not and should not explain all early Greek ritual as having a practical magical end in view. Some of it—for instance, much of the merry worship of Dionysos—expresses simply the *joie de vivre* ; though the two aspects are always blending and running into one another. Even the great Games were acts of worship ; like the dancing of a Greek chorus, it was a matter of “ praying with one’s whole body ”, in Professor Murray’s phrase. And this kind of emotional expression also is not peculiar to man. Birds with their peculiarly intense and vivid life, often seem to expend their surplus energy in play, flying and tumbling simply “ for the pleasure of it ” ; and, especially, the supreme occasion of courtship and mating is accompanied in many species with what can only be called a genuine ritual.<sup>2</sup> One

<sup>1</sup> Frazer, *G.B.* i, pp. 120–131.

<sup>2</sup> For a good example, cf. “ Courtship of the Red-throated Diver ” in Julian Huxley’s *Essays of a Biologist*.

may presume that man, with his almost equally vivid life and his strong intelligence, evolved primitive rituals of dancing and singing at a very early stage. (Köhler's apes discovered for themselves and were very much alive to the pleasure of rhythmic dancing movements in company.<sup>1</sup>) Then a ritual, originally performed merely because a whole group "felt like that", is remembered as being pleasurable and repeated with the deliberate intention of recapturing the pleasure.<sup>2</sup> Here enters man the hedonist, man the "artist in ritual" in Whitehead's words. Ritual may be presumed to be far older than mythology, since ritual is not peculiar to mankind. Man takes a further step by inventing a mythology to account for the ritual. *Im Anfang war der That*; or, in another phrase of Whitehead's, it is a case of "the emergence of ideas from activities".<sup>3</sup> But this way lies not only magic, but worship.

But the cases in which man's ritual behaviour is most clearly foreshadowed by other beasts do belong to the category of those magical or symbolic actions, in which man relieves his feelings by going through the motions of the action that he would take if circumstances were different. The dog turning round to push the grass out of the way before it lies down to sleep on the carpet is performing a typical "symbolic" act; and so did the tame squirrel which, after a moment's hesitation, went through the motions of burying a nut on a bare deal table, and then went off with an air of duty done. Just so a Greek, if the fortunes of war, or the sea, did not permit him to give due burial to the body of a friend, gave rest to his friend's soul, as he believed, and to his own soul really, by constructing a cenotaph and holding a memorial service. This time, the symbolism is conscious.

Köhler's chimpanzees repeatedly did what is characteristic of all magic: under the influence of emotion—baffled rage, or longing (for food) they would do something *like* what they wanted to do, or *orientated in space in the direction of their objective*.

<sup>1</sup> *Mentality of Apes*, pp. 314–16.

<sup>2</sup> Whitehead, *Religion in the Making*, pp. 10 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Adventures of Ideas*, p. 127.

"Sultan was isolated and had to fast a little in the interests of science. He sat moaning in his prison while the rest devoured their food. Presently he concentrated his entreaties on Tschego, who squatted near him, armed with a huge bunch of bananas, and who, on other occasions, had come and shared her superfluous goods with him. He howled and held out his arms towards her. She turned her back on him and he began to jump up and down and scratch his head. Still she did not come. He knocked upon the wall and the ground outside his cage, stretching towards her as far as he could reach. Finally he caught up turf and straws, and angled in the air towards her, and then pebbles which he threw, not to hit her, but towards her, so that they fell near her.

"Fruit had been placed outside the bars, as in many other experiments. Sultan . . . grasped vainly at the bananas and only relinquished this vain attempt after some time. His hunger increased; he seized twigs, and pushed them towards his coveted prize; finally he threw twigs, grass, and all available movable objects at the fruit, uttering plaintive cries the while."

"Certainly" comments Köhler, "Tschego might have been moved by Sultan's behaviour, but as an unattainable fruit is treated in the same way as Tschecho, a purely utilitarian interpretation will not suffice. It follows that under the influence of strong unsatisfied emotion the animal must do something in the spatial direction in which the object of his emotion is situated. He must somehow get into touch with this objective, even if not practically; must *do* something, even if it is only to hurl the movables in his cage towards it."<sup>1</sup>

Anger was expressed in the same way. Some of the apes became expert stone-throwers, but "the chimpanzee does not only throw stones at objects that he can actually hit, but equally, for instance, at the bars when a scolding human or a growling dog stands on the other side of them". Further, Tschecho, who did not throw stones, when scolded for some

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., pp. 88-9.

misdemeanour was sometimes to be seen " stamping indignantly to and fro . . . and not only shaking and clawing with her long arms in the direction of the scolder, but also seizing handfuls of grass and herbs, and tearing at them till the bits were strewn round her. If she had her blanket with her, she dashed it furiously on the ground, but always these gesticulations, both physically and psychically, were partially directed towards the enemy, as were also the manipulations of the grass and herbs ".<sup>1</sup>

An amusing type of " symbolic " action, like that of the squirrel on the deal table, occurred in connection with nest-building—an activity which the apes seemed to perform instinctively, without learning and often without any real need. " Whatever the circumstances, the first thing is never to make even a scanty support for the body to squat on, but to create a ring round the animal, and if there is not enough material, then the ring is the only thing that is made. The chimpanzee then sits contentedly in his meagre circle, without touching it at all, and if one did not know that this was a rudimentary nest one might think that the animal was forming a geometrical pattern for its own sake."<sup>2</sup> Again, " At the first drops of a cold shower of rain we may see the animal look upwards and, at once seize some bits of grass, leaves, etc., lay them on the back of his neck and pat them firmly down with his hands, as though to stick them fast. They afford, of course, no real protection at all, but, as in many other situations, the ape does something orientated in the direction of his needs . . . so that the action is more of an emotional expression."<sup>3</sup>

But the best anticipation of sympathetic magic was shown on one occasion by the rather stupid ape Rana. The fruit which was her objective had been placed inside a large travelling cage, " enclosed on one side by bars (and otherwise by wooden walls) so that it was possible to see that it was resting with the door side on the ground. . . . After some incredibly clumsy attempts to scrape the fruit towards her with a stick, Rana made quite unmistakable efforts to tip

<sup>1</sup> Ib., p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> Ib., p. 91.

<sup>3</sup> Ib., p. 316.

over the cage," so as to enter it through the door. ". . . But the weight was too much for her. About five metres away stood a similar cage, with the doorway facing in the direction of Rana's laborious efforts. She suddenly stood still, approached the accessible cage, slowly entered it, turned round, and reappeared with an extraordinary expression of mingled stupidity and reflection; then returned to the first cage and tried once more to overturn it, but in vain."<sup>1</sup>

Of such origin are the rites and practices, and theories to rationalize them, with which the best Ionian thought, in Herakleitos or Anaximandros, makes a clean break. They are the expressions of mental characteristics which may be observed in animals, and seem to be present in practically identical form, like some essential part of the bodily structure, in human beings of every existing race. The Greek achievement consists then in sitting back and asking "Does this practice *really* do good? Is this belief *really* true?" Here at its beginning, as so often in its career, "science advances by a process of recession from untenable hypotheses." With Thales and his followers there opens an era of much more careful thought and observation—observation that would take account of negative as well as positive instances. It was a remarkable achievement; for how strong the tendencies that issue in magic still were in Greece in the sixth century, the records of the Pythagorean and Orphic brotherhoods show only too clearly. With the Milesian physicists begins that severer discipline of thought by which—two thousand years later, with the help of a vastly improved technology—men were to begin learning how to do in reality what magic claimed to do; how to control nature by discovering and obeying its physical laws.

<sup>1</sup> Ib., p. 64. Isolated quotations give little idea of the absorbing interest of a book which enables us to observe many human characteristics all the better for seeing them in simple and rudimentary form.

## CHAPTER IV

### LAW, THE STATE, AND THE FAMILY

BUILDING on the foundation of the vigorous peasantry described by Hesiod, the Greek aristocracies of the ninth and eighth centuries were beginning to advance again in luxury and civilization. In each of the tiny states of Hellas and Ionia—each independent valley or section of an intermontane plain, or, in the more forward Aegean-facing regions, each city-state, centring on its *Polis* or walled stronghold sometimes inhabited since Minoan times—there were a few families whose members naïvely called themselves the Best People, and in some respects really were. Their origins were diverse. Throughout most of Hellas proper—in Thessaly, and in all the Dorian states—they traced their lineage to the men who came in with the Conqueror, this or that Herakleid chieftain, of those whose coming or “Return” broke up the state-system that Homer knew of. In Crete, these Dorians or Herakleids dominated and tyrannized over serfs called Mnoites,<sup>1</sup> a race of whom the legendary prehistoric king Minos may perhaps be the eponym. On the coast of Asia, the Ionians and other Hellenes ruled a depressed class which was at least in part native, like the Gergithes of Miletos.<sup>2</sup> But where there had been no recent Conquest we find, as in Attica, an aristocracy established none the less. Sometimes, as at Ephesos<sup>3</sup> and Erythrai,<sup>4</sup> the rulers claimed common descent from the old kings. Sometimes, as in Attica, they were simply the Well-Born or Patricians, Eupatridai. But everywhere, in Arkadia,<sup>5</sup> Attica, and Boiotia where there was little or no racial cleavage,<sup>6</sup> no less than in Dorian Epidauros

<sup>1</sup> Str. xii, 542; Ath. vi, 263, 267; xv, 695–6, quoting Sosikrates, Hermon, and the Soldier’s Song of Hybias the Cretan.

<sup>2</sup> Herakl. Pont., ap. Ath. xii, 523; cf. Hdt. v, 122; vii, 43, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Suidas, s.v. Πυθαγόρας: cf. Str. xiv, 683.

<sup>4</sup> Ar. *Politics*, 1305 B.

<sup>5</sup> Theopompos, ap. Ath. vi, 271.

<sup>6</sup> See below, pp. 198 ff.

or Sikyon or Megara with their despised “dusty-footed”<sup>1</sup> country-folk dressed in goatskins,<sup>2</sup> aristocracy is the rule.

So universal a form of government, appearing in many self-contained and independent states, must have a common social and economic foundation; nor is this common foundation hard to see. The best warlike equipment, especially defensible armour, is expensive; one remembers, in Homeric warfare, the desperate eagerness to capture an opponent’s armour after killing him; and men who possess the costly brazen panoply (and horses to carry them, so armed, to battle unwearied), can butcher or drive helplessly before them a host of the “naked”<sup>3</sup> peasantry, armed sometimes with little beyond clubs<sup>4</sup> and slings. This military dominance of the rich is confirmed by their strategic position. The economic centre of every Greek state was a pocket of fertile soil, or occasionally two or three neighbouring pockets, i.e. plains, among the prevailing rocky hills. Round about this centre, with its walled Polis or with luck *Akro-polis*—the Akropolis of Athens is a perfect example of such a “high-city”, a defensible rock rising out of the corn-land—the state dominates as much of the hill-country, useful for forest and rough pasture, as its military strength can hold. But, of course, the richer farmers are usually to be found precisely at the centre. Men who hold land farther away hold, as a rule, poorer land; fewer of them will be able to arm themselves cap-à-pie in bronze; and, in any case, they are not so well able to meet together at the city and talk about any business of public interest that may arise. In these circumstances it is inevitable that, though in all ages and places the general gathering of all free men remains a feature of Greek life—the spontaneous gathering of a crowd in any crisis, whether to decide what to do or merely to hear what has been decided—yet by custom, gradually hardening into law (Greek has only one word for both) and also by the right of the

<sup>1</sup> Plut. *Q.G.* i; Hesych, s.v. *κονιορτόποδες* (at Epidauros).

<sup>2</sup> Theognis, 53 ff.; cf. Theop. frag. 195 (in Ath. vi, 271) on the *κατωνάκοφοροι*, Sheep-skin-wearers, the serfs at Sikyon.

<sup>3</sup> *γυμνῆτες, γυμνήσουσι*, serfs at Argos: Pollux, iii, 83.

<sup>4</sup> *κορυνήφοροι*: another name for the serfs at Sikyon: Pollux, ib.

stronger, all effective participation in government falls into the hands of the Best People. Who is that common man to get up in the Agora—the Meeting—and talk ; especially if he talks against our privileges ? Knock him down ! And Thersites gets short shift. “ You sit down and keep your mouth shut,” says the chieftain to the commoner in Homer, “ and listen to your betters. You are no warrior at all.”<sup>1</sup> And the admonition, emphasized by a resounding thwack from a richly-ornamented stick, is feared and obeyed.

As methods of war change, the military centre of gravity in a Greek state shifts from one class to another ; and where this centre of gravity lies, with that class lies the last word in politics.<sup>2</sup> As metal becomes cheaper, with increasing skill in its working and with the opening up of more and more veins of ore, so the possession of armour comes within the reach of more people, and, not without stout resistance from the nobles, political power is won not only by all “ Knights ”, no matter who their ancestors were,<sup>3</sup> but by that whole middle-class of well-to-do and thrifty peasants and (sometimes) townsmen who can now arm themselves well enough to serve among the heavy-armed foot. The final widest extension of democracy in Greece, in the fifth century and after, is confined almost entirely to those great commercial centres in Greece where sea-power was a vital interest of state ; for any man, even the poorest, could serve his city by pulling at an oar. Hence such democracies as those of Athens, Taras, Syracuse.

(It is interesting, however, to see that even such an obvious rule is not without exceptions. Argos in the fifth century, though not a sea-power, is at least intermittently democratic, and a democracy of the Athenian and not of the hoplite or

<sup>1</sup> οὐ δ' ἀπτόλεμος καὶ ἀναλκις—*Il.* ii, 201, shortly before the Thersites episode.

<sup>2</sup> As Aristotle well knew. For all that follows, cf. *Politics*, iv, 1289 b, v, 1303 A.

<sup>3</sup> There was a time about the end of the eighth century, when this extension of the franchise represented the most liberal type of constitution known to the most up-to-date cities of Asiatic Greece ; cf. pp. 185, 172-3.

"Mantinean" type; and on the other hand the Isthmian maritime states, Megara, Corinth, Sikyon, remained, except for short democratic interludes at Megara and Sikyon, under the rule of moderate oligarchies. *Exceptio probat regulum.* The most permanent motive behind fifth century Argive policy is hatred and fear of Sparta, which had already robbed Argos of much land and of an ancient hegemony; and hatred of Sparta prompted alliance with Athens, the young and brilliant claimant to the hegemony of Greece. Hence a tendency to borrow Athenian and shun Spartan political ideas. The Isthmus cities on the other hand had suffered at the hands of Athens, the great new dominant sea-power, and feared the old imperial aspirations of Argos too. Hence they leaned on Sparta, and democratic tendencies in them were weakened by the feeling that democracy was a device of the foreign foe. Also, such movements towards democracy as did manifest themselves in the later fifth century at Sikyon and Megara were, under the stress of the Peloponnesian War, suppressed by Spartan spears.<sup>1</sup> The history of these states, between Athens and Sparta, is an interesting example of the real influence of subjective causes in history.)

In the eighth century, then, aristocracy rules everywhere. Where there had been a Dorian conquest, the conquerors had naturally occupied the best land and settled in the midst of it, often occupying the old Bronze Age walled city site, as a garrison on terms of potential armed hostility to their surrounding subjects; and the subjective but grim realities of race-hatred were superimposed upon the omnipresent class feeling. But, we repeat, a conquest was not a necessary step towards the emergence of an aristocracy. In some Greek states, such as the go-ahead Kolophon and Kyme,<sup>2</sup> all those well-to-do landowners who could afford to serve as cavalry had some say in the government. More commonly, full citizenship rested on some sort of hereditary qualification; but even then the members of the government, in looking after their own interests, were looking after those of other "knights" and prosperous landholders too, and, in case of

<sup>1</sup> Thk. iv, 74; v, 81.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 165-172 f.

any cleavage of interest between them and the poorer classes, could count on these richer farmers' support ; just as at Sparta, throughout the classical period, the Spartiates could always count on the support of the landholders of the surrounding townships of their territory—those “dwellers around” who probably represent Dorian conquerors, whose political rights had lapsed because they lived too far away to exercise them. These *Perioikoi* were always ready to help against either Argives or Arkadians or those foes within, the Helots, whom Greeks usually believed to represent a conquered native population.<sup>1</sup>

There were many reasons why the Homeric king should everywhere disappear or be reduced to a figurehead. First—important, though only a negative reason—the dark age with its exhausted slumber, with the cessation of conquests and migrations like those of the Dorians, and of piratical raids on the grand scale like the raids on Troy and on Thebes “for the flocks of Oidipous”,<sup>2</sup> removed the old reason which had made unity of command a necessity. But once this absolute necessity, for a people on the war-path, was removed, the natural jealousy of “the best people” against the irresponsible headship of one whom they felt to be no better than themselves could have free play, and, whether or not the name of king is preserved, the head of the state everywhere has his power severely curtailed ; usually he becomes no more than an elected president, responsible to his fellow-nobles.<sup>3</sup> Thus the aristocracy secures itself against the danger of being driven into unwelcome courses by the eccentricities of an individual. It has often been observed that already in the *Odyssey* King Alkinöös is assisted by a council of twelve other kings, among whom he seems to be merely *primus inter pares* ; and that the language which the subordinate kings of Agamemnon's confederacy venture to hold towards their overlord, even “in the face of the enemy”, is very like that which they refuse to tolerate

<sup>1</sup> Theop. frag. 134 (Ath. vi, 265), Ephorus, frag. 18 (Str. viii, 364–5), Hellanikos, frag. 67, ap. Harpokr., s.v.

<sup>2</sup> Hesiod, *W.D.*, 163.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenaean*, pp. 240–1 ; and pp. 190, 198 below.

when the speaker is Thersites. It has also been pointed out<sup>1</sup> that the Homeric king is continually dissipating his property, both landed and movable, for the endowment of his house-carls and in "presents" of all sorts. Sometimes such presents might be made good by a rough and ready "taxing" of the people<sup>2</sup>; but altogether they must have been a serious drain on the royal privy purse, which purse was replenished, as far as we can see, chiefly out of the spoils of war. Here again we see the essentially self-destructive character of the Heroic monarchy. It was killing the goose that laid the golden eggs, destroying every accumulation of capital in the world that it ruled; and as soon as every considerable accumulation of treasure in the Aegean world, that was not lost in the earth, had thus been dissipated, not only was all Aegean society reduced to a common level of squalid poverty, but the kings themselves were no longer able to maintain such a great force of house-carls; and so, in this way as well, they were reduced to the same level as their fellow-nobles.

The fall of the monarchy probably slightly worsened the condition of the common people. Hesiod's and others' wistful backward looks towards the Heroic Age are no doubt based mainly on an illusion, the common human illusion of the "good old days"; and in so far as times had got worse, for the commons, at all, the decline had in the main been, as we saw, a cause rather than an effect of the fall of the monarchy. Nevertheless, oligarchy can hardly have been an improvement on monarchy from the common man's point of view. "Individuals may refrain from exploiting a privilege for their own advantage, but no class ever does so for long."<sup>3</sup> It does not take a Communist to see this. Individuals may behave unselfishly, but among any considerable number of human beings, on any controversial question, it is a practical certainty that most will decide in the manner most compatible with their own immediate interest, real or supposed. We may listen to the arguments

<sup>1</sup> Beloch, *G.G.* i, i, p. 212.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* xiii, 18 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Arthur Salter, *Recovery*, p. 210.

on both sides, but those on our side make the deeper impression. Especially is this so when members of a social class continually meet one another and no one else, and have every opportunity of hearing "everyone" repeat the arguments in favour of behaving as our immediate material interest prompts us to behave. English history offers many examples of the monarchy standing as the people's friend against an upper class; partly because the crown needs popular support against a feudal baronage. In the small Greek states too, a king in his capacity as judge (could one but get him to listen) would probably deal out justice. He was rich enough not to be influenced by any ordinary bribe. The "gift-devouring kings" in Hesiod's district of Boiotia, on the other hand, evidently were not. That is just one aspect of the "oppression" of people by nobles, of which, in early Greek history, we hear so much.

Nevertheless, the aristocracies did render some service. If they sheared the flock, they did defend it against raiders from abroad. Indeed, whether they were wolves or sheep-dogs, they must sometimes hardly have known themselves. After all, the shepherd and the wolf both alike eat mutton. And at least, under the oligarchies material civilization in Greece did start to move forward again. It would have been quite impossible for the whole population to rise appreciably above the subsistence level at once. The Greek nobles were the minority who, through the concentration of more than their share of their country's products in their hands, obtained a modest surplus of wealth and chance of leisure; and early Greek art and poetry bear witness that that wealth and that leisure were not ignobly used.

We have still one further source of light on the Greek society of the dark age: namely the survivals of old ideas in Greek law, especially in the laws that protected life and property in the state best known to us in historic times, i.e., once more, Athens.

In all that follows, it must be remembered that our evidence refers, as a rule, to the propertied classes. Much of

it *may* be applicable to peasants and proletarians too ; but we should be on our guard. Hesiod talks lightly of buying or selling a farm—but Hesiod is a plebeian, even if a fairly well-to-do one. Among the *Genè*, the noble clans, of the neighbouring Attica, we find on the other hand that there was at least a strong feeling against ever letting one's land pass out of the family. Peasants were probably quite unable ever to develop such a tradition. Again, peasants can hardly have kept their women so carefully guarded as Greek nobles did. (Athenian town-bred women were kept, one might almost say, in *purdah* ; a state of affairs which had important social consequences, some of them unintended.) And peasants can hardly have spared the time to cultivate so elaborate a family organization as nobles did, and to prosecute blood-feuds on so grand a scale.

With this caution, then, we may proceed.

At the outset, we are struck, here once more, by the remarkable contrast between the impression given us by the Homeric poems and that given by the more archaic traits of Athenian custom. It is the latter, though known to us from more recent sources, that brings us into contact with ideas the more remote from our own. Just as in Homer there is little of magic or superstition, but in ancient Attic ritual much, so also, in Homer and (this time) Hesiod, we find a sturdy individualism ; Hesiod's father buys his farm ; the Homeric hero fights not for tribe or clan but for himself, and relies not on his brethren but on his ἔταιροι, "comrades" who are often, like Patroklos or Phoinix, exiles and broken men from different parts of Greece. In Attic custom, on the other hand, we find traces of a limitation of individualism in favour of the solidarity of the family, which has much impressed some writers—especially, it is not surprising to see, French writers of a bygone generation.<sup>1</sup> There are many traces of a state of affairs in which landed

<sup>1</sup> Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité Antique* ; Guiraud, *Propriété foncière en Grèce* (1893) ; Glotz, *Solidarité de la Famille en Grèce* (1903) ; contrast J. Toutain, *L'Economie Antique* (1927), pp. 16–22, 56–9, who is much less impressed with the limitations on individualism imposed by ancient law than the older writers.

property was seldom if ever allowed to pass out of the hands of the Clan, the *genos*. "Before Solon," says Plutarch,<sup>1</sup> "there was no power of testation, but the house and property had to remain within the *genos*"; and even after Solon's innovation, after 600 B.C., this new power was severely limited, being only exercisable *if there were no legitimate sons*<sup>2</sup>; a limitation so severe that Maine denies that Attic law ever invented any true power of testation at all.<sup>3</sup> As in the customs of Bengal and in the sacred Hindu Laws of Manu, and universally in the customs of the Teutonic tribes as they become visible to us in the disintegrating Roman Empire, "law makes the male children co-proprietors with their father, and the endowment of the family cannot be parted with, except by the consent of all its members."<sup>4</sup> From a like state of affairs derives the phrase, common to Roman jurisprudence even in its maturest stages, by which a son succeeding his father was known as *heres suus* and *heres necessarius*, although, in point of fact, in the days of Gaius he was no longer anything of the kind.<sup>5</sup> In Attic law, if there were legitimate sons living, they must inherit, receiving equal shares.<sup>6</sup> There was no primogeniture, except that the eldest son kept the father's house, no doubt an important item in some cases.<sup>7</sup> A son might indeed be disowned and banished, for unfilial or otherwise disgraceful conduct,<sup>8</sup> or even, after killing within the clan or meddling with his father's women or in some other way moving his father's or kinsmen's anger, might have to fly for his life. Hippolytos, son of Theseus, in the legend, and Phoinix in the *Iliad* (ix, 447 ff.) are examples. In that case, there was

<sup>1</sup> *Solon*, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Demosth. *Leptines*, 102. Isaios, *Philoktemon*, 10, p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> *Ancient Law*, chap. vi.

<sup>4</sup> Maine, l.c. Cf. Fustel de Coulanges, pp. 74, 76 ff., 88 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Gaius, *Institutes*, iii, 1, 3; 9, 7; 19, 2; Justinian, *Digest*, xxxviii, 16, 14.

<sup>6</sup> Isaios, *On the Property of Philoktemon* (vi), 32, p. 58.

<sup>7</sup> The right of the eldest or *πρεσβέτερος*, Demosth., *For Phormion*, ch. 34.

<sup>8</sup> ἀποκήρυξις, cf. Plato, *Laws*, xi, 928; in the prehistoric age no doubt fathers did sometimes put their sons to death, but their rights were explicitly reduced to that of disinheriting by most of the historic Greek codes of Law—Solon's, Pittakos', Charondas', etc.; see Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.*, ii, 28.

more for the other sons, if any, or for other members of the clan if there were no legitimate offspring.<sup>1</sup> But in no circumstances whatever, before Solon's time, did property pass by succession out of the clan.

In the intermediate case, if there were girl children surviving but no males, Athenian law enforced a curious practice, which gives added point to what has been said above. A woman from physical disability can not normally be a warrior nor protect herself under conditions of barbarism. Hence, amid the warlike and turbulent cultures of the early Aryan-speaking races and Europeans generally, she has almost invariably sunk into a position of dependance on the male. She is held incapable of conducting an action at law (the institution that gradually takes the place of armed combat), and hence can not defend, and therefore can not hold, property. Hence there is no matriarch in the early Aryan-speaking societies best known to us. A woman cannot be head of a family, nor conduct the family sacrifices and religious rites, especially those in honour of the ancestors ; in a society where descent is inevitably traced through the male (through the successive lords of the family property, that is) the family rites are of course essentially a man's work. But, though the brotherless daughter could not hold the property herself, she might bear a son who could do so ; and in accordance with the feeling that the property must pass to the nearest blood-relations, she did, in a fashion, inherit. The property was intended to pass, if possible, through her, as it were, to her son, the grandson of her father ; and in the mean time her lord, that is her husband, since her father is dead, *must* be her nearest kinsman on the male side. The law was perfectly explicit (unlike a good many points in the Attic law of succession<sup>2</sup>) ; it puzzles and shocks

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ar. *Birds*, 1660 ff. ; (Peisthetairos lectures Herakles) :—  
 ἐρῶ δὲ δὴ καὶ τὸν Σόλωνός σου νόμον·  
 νόθῳ δὲ μηδὲν ἀγχιστέαν, παῖδων ὅντων γνησίων· ἐὰν δὲ παῖδες μηδὲν  
 γνήσιοι, τοῖς ἐγγυτάτῳ γένεντος μετεῖναι τῶν χρημάτων.

<sup>2</sup> Some Athenians said that Solon purposely made the law of property a masterpiece of obscurity, in order to increase the power of the juries !—*Ath. Pol.* ix.

fourth century speakers in the law courts, and it must have borne most cruelly upon many individuals ; but it remained in force. “ Women who have been given in marriage by their fathers and were living with their husbands (and who should make plans for them better than their fathers ?)—even women thus married, if their father dies leaving them no legitimately-born brothers, the law commands to be married to their next of kin, as claimants<sup>1</sup> [to the estate] ; and many men who were already married have been taken away from their wiv .s.”<sup>2</sup> It may have mitigated the cruelty of this arrangement, that Athenians were usually married in any case to brides or bridegrooms selected for them and whom they had hardly seen before ; so that at least the idea of a forced marriage to a partner selected over one’s head would not seem to them shocking and unnatural.

Even Solon’s innovation of a limited power of testation, which practically amounted to the “ legal fiction ” of adoption of a son, was fitted in with this old custom as regards daughters. The speech above quoted continues a little later : “ The law expressly says that a man may dispose of his property as he will, if he does not leave legitimate male offspring ; and if he leaves female, [then the property goes] with them. It is lawful, then, to give and dispose of one’s property *with the daughters* ; but apart from the legitimately-born daughters no man has the right to adopt a son or give to anyone any of his possessions.”<sup>3</sup>

Just what these passages prove as regards the early Attic law of property has been hotly disputed. Fustel de Coulanges considers that “ de telles règles . . . sont le plus sûr indice du principe de la propriété familiale ”.<sup>4</sup> Toutain on the contrary quotes these words with disapproval : “ Non. Il n’y a là rien qui dérive de ce principe. Le cas de la fille épicière est dominée par une idée toute différente, celle qui légalement déniait aux filles tout droit sur le patrimoine.”<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ἐπίδικοι.

<sup>2</sup> Isaios, *Property of Pyrrhos* (iii), 78, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> οὐκ οὖν τε οὔτε ποιήσασθαι (οὐδένα, sc.) οὔτε δοῦναι οὐδένι τῶν ἔαυτοῦ.

<sup>4</sup> *Nouvelles recherches sur quelques problèmes de l’histoire*, p. 42.

<sup>5</sup> *Écon. Ant.*, p. 58.

This, surely, is going too far. One may agree that Toutain, like other recent writers, shows a wholly salutary scepticism and common-sense in his criticism of the theory of communal or family property in the early age of Greece. That theory, not unnaturally, was somewhat exaggerated in the generation when the historical method in the study of ancient law was an exciting novelty. But Toutain does not explain, and de Coulanges does, why the brotherless "heiress", *epikleros*, the girl who "goes with the estate", is treated quite differently from the girl who has a brother. In the former case the property *must* go to her husband, the next of kin. In the latter case, she marries usually into a different *genos*, and takes with her a dowry which is only a small fraction of the whole estate. The feeling clearly was that a man must be succeeded by legitimate male heirs of his body if possible, and if there is no son, then the son of his daughter by her nearest kinsman is the right person to carry on the line. Such a law, so ruthlessly enforced, is the best of evidence for the *solidarité de la famille* in early Attica.

This strong family feeling found a natural expression in religion. Men strove to take away the sting of death by the thought that a man lived on in the persons of his children, so long as the due offerings, year by year, were brought to his tomb; and as a man honoured his father and his mother, so he honoured the departed ancestors. As late as the fourth century, speakers in the law-courts emphasize this side of the matter. "You must ask yourselves, therefore, gentlemen," says one pleader, "whether it is for that woman's son to be Philoktemon's heir, and to visit his tomb with drink-offerings and sacrifices, or for his sister's son, whom he himself adopted."<sup>1</sup> And another tells how one Menekles, finding himself childless and advancing in years, sorrowfully put away his young wife, though he found no fault in her, giving her back her dowry and all her jewellery, so that she might be married to another man and not share his misfortune of childlessness: and then, looking for someone "to look after him in old age and bury him when he died,

<sup>1</sup> *On the Property of Philoktemon*; Isaios, vi, c. 61, p. 61.

and pay him the accustomed honours thereafter," adopted the young wife's brother, "adopting a son from that same family from which he had hoped to have sons born to him in the course of nature."<sup>1</sup> He "introduced me, as his adopted son, into his Brotherhood, in the presence of the plaintiffs" (his brothers, who after his death tried to upset the arrangement) "and inscribed my name on the Roll of his Parish and of the Celebrants" (of the ancestor-cult of his *genos*).<sup>2</sup> And so, adds the speaker, "I, his son by adoption, cared for him while he lived, . . . and I named my own child after him, so that the name of his house might not perish, and when he died I buried him in a manner worthy of himself and of me, and set up a monument over his tomb, and performed the rites of the Ninth Day and all the rest, as well as I possibly could, so that all the men of the Parish praised me. But *he* (the plaintiff), his blood-relation . . . now that he is dead, wishes to leave him childless and make his name to perish. That is the sort of man *he* is."<sup>3</sup> This unnatural brother is trying "to bring it to pass that no one shall observe the ancestral festivals for him, nor sacrifice to him year by year; he is robbing him of his honour".<sup>4</sup>

The whole object of adoption, then, is that a family (*oikos*, a house, the subdivision of a *genos*) may not perish. The same speaker calls it "a custom universally approved of, both by Hellenes and barbarians; and that (sc. to avert childlessness) is why they use it".<sup>5</sup> Instances could easily be multiplied.<sup>6</sup>

The brothers of Menekles, it is interesting to see, must clearly have been basing their case on the still older claims

<sup>1</sup> *Property of Menekles* (Id. ii), 10 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. 18: ποιησάμενος εἰσάγει με εἰς τὸν φράτορας, παρόντων τούτων, καὶ εἰς τὸν δημότας με ἐγγράφει καὶ εἰς τὸν ὄργεωνας. The Greek technical terms are, of course, strictly untranslatable. The *fratRIA* (a division of the tribe, φυλῆ) contains several γένη. *Oikos*, "house," = family in our narrower sense.

<sup>3</sup> Ib., 44.

<sup>4</sup> Ib., 56: τιμᾶς: cf. Homeric ἀτίμητος, Attic ἀτιμία, disenfranchisement; τιμὴ thus = one's status, on which one's rights all depend.

<sup>5</sup> Ib., 29.

<sup>6</sup> Id. *Property of Apollodoros* (vii), 37, p. 66; Demosth. *Against Makaratos*, *passim*; *Against Leochares*, *passim*.

of blood-relationship before all else. The law gave them a loophole, by its provision that an adoption was null and void if the testator were not in his right mind or had been improperly influenced by drugs or by a woman—a source of endless litigation. Solon's law gives just a little more scope to individualism than the ancient custom. Menekles is allowed to provide for his own name and *oikos* being carried on, and for his own "honour"—τιμή, status—among the dead. Earlier, it was the larger unit, the *genos*, which took over the property and continued its common rites if one of its branches failed. The law laid down with great care the order and proportion in which kinsmen shared the property ; collaterals on the mother's side were admitted, if agnates failed.<sup>1</sup> But in the fourth century, if all individual efforts failed, it was actually the duty of the senior Archon of Athens to watch over the houses of the city "that none of them be left desolate".<sup>2</sup>

From ancient Hindu laws and literature comes interesting evidence of exactly the same feeling, of the importance of seeing that the family and the family worship be carried on.<sup>3</sup>

It goes without saying that the property, whose passing out of the clan by inheritance was thus so straitly forbidden, was not lightly alienated in one's lifetime either, by gift or sale. Only in cases of "clear necessity", as in the laws of Lokroi, can such a thing have happened.<sup>4</sup> What legal sanctions there can have been to prevent it is not so clear. Probably none ; it simply "was not done"<sup>5</sup>; the public opinion of the kinsmen would be fiercely against "devouring one's property", and the man, who by mismanagement or folly did so, had of course automatically lost his "stake in the country", his capital, his means of supplying himself with the expensive equipment of a man at arms, and thereby

<sup>1</sup> Isaios, *Apollodoros*, 25 ff., p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> Ib., 38.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Bhagavad-Gita*, i, 40 ff.; *Laws of Manu*, ix; de Coulanges, *Cité Antique*, bk. ii, chaps. iii, iv.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ar. *Politics*, ii, 1266B.

<sup>5</sup> So at Sparta even in the fourth century : ὁνεῖσθαι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἐποίησεν οὐ καλὸν, Ar., op. cit., 1270A. There is nothing about specific penalties.

his whole civic and social status ; he incurred, in short, *atimia*. In an age when almost all " capital " was in the form of land and farm equipment, when gold and silver were relatively rare in Greece, and when almost all trade was barter, one may well imagine that such a disaster was rare, and that the upper and upper-middle classes of Greek society (land-owning nobles and substantial farmers) did achieve considerable economic stability. For a noble, farming a considerable estate, only the grossest incompetence would be likely to lead to ruin, in the absence of the temptations and dangers of commercial speculation ; and where such incompetence was observed, we must suppose that the unfortunate's brothers or kinsmen took the law into their own hands (the hands in which it normally lay, be it remembered) and declared him unfit to hold or manage property. . . .

But there is not a scrap of evidence for the view that this economic and social stability ever hardened into a legally closed system. One must remember that there was no law, in the sense in which we understand it, set down in writing and enforced by a centralized state, existing in the Hesiodic age at all. The Greek word *nomos* simply means " custom ", and the earliest Greek written codes date from the very end of our " medieval " period or from the succeeding " renaissance "—the age when under the stress of economic change and the growth of trade, the " medieval " stability or stagnation was breaking up. It was only then that ancient custom became inadequate to deal with the increasing number of novel situations, and a hard and fast code (always capable of development, at a pinch, by legal fictions) was welcomed as providing a fixed point in an increasingly fluid and chaotic state of affairs. But so long as law is only custom, it is of its very nature flexible—and liable to be very considerably bent by the strong hand and the strong mind. Therefore, in the absence of any contrary evidence, and in the presence of Hesiod's reference to buying or selling land as a normal result of the favour or disfavour of heaven, we must suppose that the buying and selling of

land did go on. There is no evidence of any law or custom or any right of a family council<sup>1</sup> of uncles and cousins to prevent the Greek equivalent of a *paterfamilias* from selling off an odd field or two in exchange for so many head of cattle if he thought it advantageous ; or to prevent the incompetent or unfortunate peasant from forfeiting the whole of his land to some richer neighbour from whom he may have had to borrow food or seed-corn in a hard year.

What we can see, then, by the light of our late or scanty evidence, is a stagnant (or stable) agricultural society in which land is held as private property by the heads of households, and can be bought and sold ; but since, as often in such a society, the same families have often held the same land for many generations, a powerful sentiment of attachment to both land and family has developed, and to lose possession of the old home, the farm or estate where one was born and bred, where one's father and grandfather lie buried, and where one looked to see one's children come after, is universally held to be οὐ καλόν, Not Beautiful ; which is the Greek for Not Done.

This sentiment, so natural to a farming and home-keeping society, was probably reinforced by a withering of individualism after its efflorescence in the Heroic Age. The Heroes took the sword and perished by the sword, and even their splendours led only to the melancholy of Homer. The final débâcle of the old bronze-age culture, weakened by internal feuds until it went down before rough northern highlanders, must have left all men prepared to forgo adventures. (Even the Boiotians, or the Dorians of the

<sup>1</sup> Glotz, op. cit., p. 43. The only evidence for the existence of any such family council, which M. Glotz is able to quote, is that of Plato's *Laws*, xi, pp. 928-9, with the suggestion that Plato *may* have seen something of the kind somewhere. With all respect to a great scholar, this can only be called most unscrupulous. All that Plato says is that the arrangements he proposes in case of disinheritance (like those concerning wills, ib., pp. 922-3) are *not* like those generally current in Greece. This feeling for the *Solidarité de la Famille*, in fact, like so much else in Plato, especially in the *Laws*, is simply the product of his reaction against the individualism of Greece in his own day. One may quote as examples his Holy Inquisition and his admiration for the Byzantine quality of Egyptian art.

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Peloponnesians, who had come to their present homes as conquerors, had after all been evicted from their old seats by still rougher Europeans from still farther north.) Everywhere we should expect to see a subdued and defensive mentality, prepared to forgo individual vainglory for the sake of protection; and such a defensive and discipline-loving mentality we do seem to find, if we may judge the dark age by its fruits; by its method of fighting, shoulder to shoulder with the pike, not rushing on with sword and javelin like the Heroes of old; by its renewed care for religion; by its care for the family, capable of producing and submitting to even such customs as the Athenian "heiress" law; by its traditional poetry and its sternly traditional Geometric art.

Here again, much difficulty will be avoided if we refrain from using the convenient but overworked word "primitive". If we start with a "transportons-nous aux âges primitifs de la race aryenne",<sup>1</sup> on the strength of comparisons with early Roman law or the Laws of Manu (useful and stimulating as these comparisons are), we are confronted with the fact that in our earliest sources we find the fewest traces of this solidarity of the clan and attachment to the land. The Homeric heroes notoriously have *not* long pedigrees, and are so far from caring about annual rites at their ancestors' tombs that eldest as well as younger sons in the legends frequently leave home and make a fortune somewhere else. Menelaos can even propose to Odysseus, and Agamemnon to Achilles, that they should leave their own and their father's kingdoms and transfer themselves, lock, stock, and barrel, to the Peloponnese<sup>2</sup>; though it is true that these offers are not accepted.

No, Hesiodic society and its group-loyalties are primitive only in the sense in which Homeric or Periklean or Augustan Roman society is "modern"; solidarity of the family may be older than individualism, just as magic and superstition are older than rationalism and science; but man can relapse

<sup>1</sup> de Coulanges, *Cité Antique*, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* iv, 174 ff.; *Il.* ix, 149 ff., respectively.

from the second into the first as well as climb from the first into the second. In short there is no need to believe that everything " primitive " in Hesiodic Greece is handed down from the Heroic Age, from the Bronze Age, and so from the Aegean Neolithic or from a Primitive Aryan Race, any more than that everything in the law or superstition of Christendom in the eighth century must needs be a legacy from the Rome of the Antonines. Many agrarian " pagan " rites in either age *may* have been handed down among the peasants from a very remote time, to emerge again into prominence when an emancipated upper class is discredited or killed off ; and in like manner this or that trait in Greek, Roman, or Hindu law *may* indeed be a legacy from an "Aryan race ", transmitted over so many hundreds of miles and years. But this seems much less likely in law than in agrarian religious ritual. It involves the presupposition that the régime characteristic of a static agricultural society in India, Italy, and Greece, owes its common traits to transmission by a wandering people through much racial admixture and, at least in two cases, through all the storms of a Heroic Age. Nor is this common-descent hypothesis necessary ; as we may see from the fact that a similar solidarity of the family and predominance of the father appears in, among other countries, China. This type of land-law in fact is simply humanity's response, in many regions, to a similar economic situation. The only point requiring explanation is the dominance of the male over the female. In agricultural civilizations which have developed *in situ* from the food-gathering stage, it is not uncommon to find woman in a position of equality with the male. Her subordination is probably to be traced, as we have suggested, to the fact that she cannot, or cannot always, fight for her property ; and it is here that we must see, probably, the abiding result of a "time of troubles" in the background.

The *solidarité de la famille en Grèce* is not, then, a republican solidarity. The heads of the several *oikoi* (the Roman *familiae*), which were grouped together in the *genos* and the *phratria*, certainly met together periodically, in

classical Athens, for business that concerned them all—chiefly the common worship of the Ancestors, and the vote on the admission of new members, the legitimate children of the old, to the Roll of the *fratres*. (It was this admission to what had been, and always remained in theory, a group of kinsmen, that carried with it admission to all the rights and duties of an Athenian.<sup>1</sup>) But within the *oikos* the father of a family, *πατήρ*, the Owner, was a despot. Even the powerful State of classical Athens never questioned his right to decide whether his new-born children should be reared or “put down”; the latter, if the father decided that his estate would not stand further division, or that the child did not look good enough, or that he did not want another girl. If his motive for not wanting a child were the first of these, however, the foetus might already have been destroyed by abortion.<sup>2</sup> It was only the “national socialism” of classical Sparta that took this right out of the father’s hand and vested the task of deciding whether the newcomer was likely to make a good Spartan soldier or mother (and so, might live) in a board of officials of the state. In the earlier period there is no doubt that the Greek father’s

<sup>1</sup> This serves to emphasize the important fact that the Greek state at this period is not a group of individuals, but a group of groups. One aspect of the whole great process of development of the “Greek Renaissance” is the “withering away” of the sovereign powers of the old kindreds and other lesser groups under the all-covering shadow of the State, until state and individual are left face to face. The early Roman state was a similar group of groups; which explains the fact, at first sight so astonishing, that any paterfamilias could in effect confer Roman citizenship on his slaves, by manumission. The slave was a member of the familia already; and every free member of the familia was a *civis Romanus*.

<sup>2</sup> Several ancient texts (e.g. Cicero, *pro Cluentio*, 11; Galen, xix, p. 177, ed. Kühn; (Lysias?) *κατ’ Ἀντιγένους ἀμβλώσεως*) allege that to procure abortion was a penal offence under most Greek codes—at Miletos, Athens, Sparta, for instance. So it was, but Glotz (*Solidarité*, pp. 351 ff.) shows that it was an offence *against the father*, if practised against his wishes with a view to causing the failure of his line, or for any other reason. Cf. the case of the widow of Miletos (a famous case) in Cicero, loc. cit., who was persuaded to induce abortion in the interests of the dead man’s heirs-in-default. Hence, as Glotz points out, there was no *public γραφὴ ἀμβλώσεως* at Athens; to prosecute this offence, recourse must be had to the private *δικη φόνου*, and the prosecutor could therefore only be the unborn child’s next of kin.

powers were as absolute as those of a Roman paterfamilias, since we are told that the great law-givers, whose work is a feature of the seventh- and sixth-century "renaissance" process, were at pains to limit them.<sup>1</sup> Before their time, then, a father could kill his son or daughter or sell them as slaves, as the Roman paterfamilias always could. Public opinion, Homer's nemesis and  $\delta\eta\muou\varphi\alpha\tauis$ , might restrain him; but the state did not intervene. After Solon, the father lost his power of life and death, it seems, once he had, according to Attic usage, acknowledged the paternity of the child and his intention to rear it, by running round the Hearth with the child in his arms—the ancient ceremony of the Amphidromia.<sup>2</sup>

The subordination of women brought with it, in Greece as in many other cultures, one law for woman and another for the male in every branch of sexual regulations. In this matter, there was no difference between the Heroic Age and the Dark Age. Strict marital fidelity is expected of the wife but not of the husband. Helen is blamed, even by the easy moral code of the heroic age; Odysseus is not, when he confesses to having found a wife in at least two "ports" of fairyland. Penelope is the ideal wife—faithful even when her husband is missing and presumed drowned. In later Attic law, adultery was a deadly offence, if committed by the woman. The life of the paramour taken *flagrante delicto* was forfeit; the law, in the classical age, still recognized the right of the angry husband to kill him on the spot.<sup>3</sup> The woman was eternally disgraced; in many cities she was shamed by being publicly paraded in the streets.<sup>4</sup> Fidelity on the part of the husband, on the other hand, was scarcely even expected. It is only occasionally, among intellectuals, and not before the fourth century, that we find an ineffective protest against men's claiming a laxer standard for themselves

<sup>1</sup> Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.*, ii, 26: on Solon, Pittakos, and Charondas—an Ionian, an Aiolian, and a western Greek.

<sup>2</sup> Glotz, *Solidarité*, 853.

<sup>3</sup> Cf., e.g., Lysias, *On the Murder of Eratosthenes*, 24.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Aischines, *Against Timarchos*, c. 183 (Athens); Plut., *Gk. Questions*, ii (Kyme); Her. Pont., *Constitutions*, 14 (Lepreon, in Elis).

than that which they expected of their wives.<sup>1</sup> All one can say is that the pillory and social ostracism for the adulteress is perhaps less cruel than the death which was her portion under the Law of Moses and many other ancient codes of law.

So also before marriage, the standard of sexual continence, or at any rate its enforcement, was far stricter for girls than for young men and boys. Greek custom demanded that a girl should be virgin at the time of her marriage; and the punishment for unchastity quite commonly and usually inflicted by stern fathers was *death*. Instances abound: there is the story of Phronime in Herodotos (iv, 154), referring to the seventh century, and that of Hippomenes, an Athenian of the old royal house; he was said to have shut up his daughter in an empty outhouse with a wild horse, which when it found itself starving attacked and ate her. The story, at any rate its sensational details, may well have been made up, perhaps to account for the strange name of an "accursed" house, which had been pulled down, and whose foundations were to be seen in conspicuous emptiness among the crowded dwellings of the city. It was called "At the Horse and the Girl".<sup>2</sup> But it certainly is mentioned by a fourth-century orator as an example of old-fashioned severity, no doubt rather medieval, but certainly exemplary. Even the humane laws of Solon, we are told, while depriving fathers of the right to sell their daughters into slavery, made the specific exception: "except in the case of a maiden found lying with a man."<sup>3</sup>

In the legends there are many and pathetic stories of the operation of this terrible law. A girl, seduced it may be by a god, will slip away out to some gully or thicket in the hills, to endure the pains of bearing alone, and to abandon her baby to the wild beasts, for fear of the punishment and disgrace. (And even this course was not open to the later

<sup>1</sup> Isokr., *Nikokles*, 40; Ar., *Polities*, vii, 1385 ad fin.

<sup>2</sup> παρ' Ἰππονος καὶ Κόπαν: see Aischines, loc. cit., 182, and Σ; also in Herakl. Pont. i (Athens), 3; Nik. Dam., fr. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Plut., *Solon*, 23.

Athenian cloistered city girl.) Pindar<sup>1</sup> works this *motif* into his exquisite poetry on the Birth of Iamos :—

“ And she laid down her crimson girdle and her silver pitcher, and beneath the dark thicket brought forth the prophet child . . . And he lay hid, mid rushes and in the depth of the thorn brake, his delicate body plunged in the brightness of golden and deep purple pansies.”—Even so under our grey northern skies the ballad-makers, with none of the Greek’s elaborate artistry, yet made great poetry out of the same sorry matter. In a more critical age Euripides tears the archaic rags of romance from such a story, in his picture of Ion’s mother, who even in middle age had never in spirit recovered from the violation of her youth ; seduced, abandoned, and herself abandoning her baby among the rocks, from shame and fear. Heroines who are detected are put to death, or escape it by a hair’s breadth. Althaimenes kills his sister Apemosyne<sup>2</sup> ; Nykteus charges his brother Lykos with the punishment of Nykteus’ daughter Antiope, who “ exposes ” her twins, Zethos and Amphion<sup>3</sup> ; Nauplios sells as a slave Auge, the daughter of his friend Aleos of Arkadia, instead of drowning her, as Aleos bade him.<sup>4</sup> Even in Homer, Odysseus hangs the delinquent handmaids, who are members of his household ; though it is true that they have added to their sexual laxity the crime of siding with the greedy and devouring suitors against their own lord and lady.<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand, the irregularities of boys and youths were much less severely censured and, at least usually, not punished at all—probably more because of the impossibility of effectively detecting and preventing them than because of actual indifference. It is quite untrue, though often asserted or implied, that most Greeks were indifferent to the sexual behaviour of their sons. At Athens, at any rate, at least up to the age of the early puberty of the south of Europe, boys were only less carefully sheltered and looked

<sup>1</sup> *Sixth Olympian.*

<sup>2</sup> *Apollod.* iii, 2, 1, 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* 5, 5, 6.

<sup>4</sup> *D.S.* iv, 33, 10.

<sup>5</sup> *Od.* xxii, 463–473. Cf. also *Hesiod*, ap. *Apollod.* i, 8, 4, 1.

after than girls. The early part of Aischines' speech *Against Timarchos* is a *locus classicus* for this, and is of value as being based on old Athenian " Laws of Solon ". (Certainly, orators ascribe to the revered Solon any enactment which it suits them to praise.) There were careful regulations, we are told, to secure that schoolmasters should be men of good character, that men who were to pay for choirs of boys for the state festivals should be over forty years of age, that schools and gymnasia should not open before sunrise, and should close before sunset, that different ages should to some extent be kept apart,<sup>1</sup> that men should not enter a schoolroom except on business, nor hang about round a boys' training ground. The male prostitute was legally deprived of all citizen rights. Aristophanes, through all his Rabelaisian laughter, always treats sexual excess, and physical homosexuality in particular, as disgraceful and not done in the Good Old Days. And Plato also, in the *Phaidros* (231e) bears witness to the severity of Athenian law and public opinion in his day.

Nevertheless it remains true also that the results of all this care were not always successful and, in particular, that homosexuality did develop into a leading feature of Greek civilization during the latter part of our " medieval " period, and under the succeeding Renaissance.

There is no trace of homosexuality in Homer or Hesiod.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> τοὺς νεανίσκους τοὺς εἰσφοιτῶντας (sc. εἰς τὰ διδασκαλεῖα καὶ τὰς παλαίστρας) οὖστινας δεῖ εἶναι καὶ δοτινας ἡλικίας ἔχοντας—loc. cit., 10.

<sup>2</sup> This time-honoured judgment is perfectly correct, against the contrary statement of Licht (*Sexual Life in Ancient Greece*, Eng. trans., 449 ff.). The passages cited by him prove nothing to the point. Achilles' grief for Patroklos—"for lack of his manliness and excellent might, and for memory of all that he had done with him and suffered, passing through both wars of men and bitter waves of the sea" (*Il.* xxiv, 6-8) is passionate, like his indignation when he is affronted; there is no need to make it specifically sexual, and Homer is far too candid, about sex and everything else, to leave us in the slightest doubt if he did refer to it here. *Il.* xix, 193, is ridiculously mis-taken by Licht. The references to Phoenician kidnappers in the *Odyssey* say nothing whatever about "the harems of wealthy pashas" (ib., p. 450). Even the reference to the rape of Ganymede (*Il.* xxi, 231 ff.) the one possible case of homosexuality in Homer, makes him to be carried off because of his beauty by "the gods", and not by Zeus separately. Herakles' address to his squire Iolaos, in Hesiod's *Shield*, likewise has nothing specifically "romantic" about it. Diomedes might say as much to Odysseus. It is

Probably like the paid harlot (another institution never mentioned by Homer and first known to us, in Greece, from Archilochos) it was a by-product of the reduction of normal sexual opportunity by the strict guarding of all respectable women in the more settled post-“heroic” age.

Certainly our evidence, so far as it goes, seems to indicate that homosexuality first became common in Greece during this Dark Age,<sup>1</sup> introduced, according to a Hellenistic writer, from Crete,<sup>2</sup> where it not improbably was a feature of Minoan civilization (but evidence is lacking<sup>3</sup>). No certain references occur in Greek literature before the poetry of the sixth century; there are none in the surviving fragments of Archilochos, on whom, in view of his coarseness, one might have expected the Hellenistic muck-raker Athenaios to fasten eagerly<sup>4</sup>; nor of Alkaios, though Horace speaks of his passion for the dark-eyed Lykos.<sup>5</sup> After Sappho, Theognis is our first *locus classicus*, telling of the love between a brave and honest, if narrow, Dorian “knight” and aristocrat, and the younger friend or squire whom he trains up to be a “good and noble” man. And Solon the Athenian himself,

perhaps worth adding that when later Greeks, such as Plato, “read back” their homosexual ideas into the *Ihad* they were not sure whether to make Achilles the passionate lover, or Patroklos. Usually Patroklos as being Achilles’ “squire” is considered to be τὰ παιδικά, though he is considerably the older man (*Il.* xi, 787); Phaidros, in Plato’s *Symposium* (179e) suggests the opposite relation.

<sup>1</sup> The earliest evidence consists of the word *καταπύων* on an Attic geometric vase, and of the quite explicit and very early inscriptions cut into the rocks at a cave in the island of Thera.

<sup>2</sup> Timaios, frag. 44; from Athenaios—inevitably.

<sup>3</sup> In Egypt, which was always in close touch with Crete, literature at least as old as 2600 B.C. presupposes homosexual relations between the gods as being obviously normal and inevitable; cf. Licht, *Sexual Life in Ancient Greece*, p. 449.

<sup>4</sup> The frag. misquoted by Licht (p. 469—frag. 85 Bergk. = 118 Diehl) has nothing homosexual about it; it is a remark to a friend (ὦ ταῖρε) about the poet’s passion for—probably Neoboule.

<sup>5</sup> Horace, *Od.* i, xxxii. The two fragments cited by Licht, loc. cit., are both couched in much too general terms to be used as evidence of anything, and neither of them is certainly by Alkaios at all. See frag. 46 Bgk. = 99 Diehl—quoted by Hephaestion without naming any author; and 58 Bgk., assigned by D. to Alkman.

it is important to realize, was not unacquainted with the like passion.<sup>1</sup>

The contrast between Solon's "most licentious verses", as Apuleius calls them, and the spirit of the Athenian laws ascribed to him by Aischines, raises the obvious question how far "the Greeks" considered homosexuality vicious. The answer is obvious—or so one would have thought—to everyone well acquainted with Greek literature: namely, that it is quite impossible to generalize about "the Greeks" like that. One can find in their literature every attitude to sex, from the frankly sensual to the most idealistic; even, in the aberrant Orphic movement, the anti-feminist and puritanical. All one can say is that this last extreme position is rare, and that, on the whole, Greek theory on the subject was considerably less severe than that of middle-class England. On the special subject of homosexuality in particular, opinions were almost as diverse as on sex in general.

Having given this warning, we may attempt to say something a little more positive.

First, then, one must realize that all Greek morality partook of the nature, not of a decalogue—"Thou shalt not" . . . this and that—but of those two famous mottoes inscribed, probably in the sixth century, on the walls of Apollo's temple at holy Delphoi, "Know Thyself"—i.e. be candid and avoid hypocrisy—and "Nothing Too Much". From the latter it follows that the avoidance of excess, not complete chastity, was the highest sexual ideal of the ordinary Greek male; and from the former, that they were less likely than we to fail to recognize a sexual element in any complex sentiment or emotion; as, for instance, the beautifully and nobly self-controlled Sokrates does recognize it, in Plato's account of him. Hence the puritanical attitude towards passionate affection or admiration, whether homosexual or heterosexual, is almost completely absent; and the two poles between which Greek opinions on homosexuality vary are not the sensual and the puritanical, but the sensual

<sup>1</sup> Frag. 12 (D); Plut. *Mor.* 751; Ath. xiii, 602, Apul., *Apol.* 9, p. 10. This time there is no doubt whatever about either the meaning or authenticity.

and the romantically idealistic. One may presume that the romantic and idealistic point of view, frequently even anti-sensual, is relatively more common among the literary men, through whom Greece is known to us, than it was among the population in general. Nevertheless one must give this side of the matter, as well as the sensuality which was frequently rampant, its due place, when forming an impression of the tone of most Greek societies. A high ideal of romantic friendship and affection did make itself felt in Greece in many periods and places, tempering and sublimating the sensual, very much as did the mainly heterosexual ideal of chivalry in the Middle Ages of Christendom. It was a commonplace of both ages that a good "knight" would surpass himself in heroism and fortitude, facing torture and death at the hands of a tyrant or performing prodigies of valour in battle,<sup>1</sup> if it were but under the eyes of the beloved, or at his side, or for his sake.<sup>2</sup>

In many Greek states this "chivalrous" emotion was deliberately utilized by society for purposes of warfare and education. In Theognis, as already mentioned, we see a Dorian of Megara imparting to his beloved squire his philosophy of life—just as Plato, the admirer of Sparta, says that the love of a beautiful mind in a beautiful body fills the lover with the desire to teach it, so that the heterosexual by nature beget the children of the body, but the homosexual, those of the spirit<sup>3</sup>; and just as a later and romantic Dorian, Theokritos, imagines his Herakles of old when he loved the gracious Hylas "and taught him all things that should make him a valiant man and a hero for songs to tell of".<sup>4</sup> At Thebes the permanent "forlorn hope" of the army, the corps called "Knights and Squires" ("Charioteers and Chariot-Fighters")—though in the classical

<sup>1</sup> Cf., e.g., the stories of Harmodios and Aristogeiton under the Peisistratids; of Damon and Phintias under Dionysios of Syracuse (Cicero, *de Off.*, iii, 10, etc.); of Anaxibios and his boy (Xen., *Hell.*, iv, 8, 38); etc.

<sup>2</sup> Plato's *Banquet* is, of course, the *locus classicus* for the distinction between the higher and lower Eros; especially Pausanias' speech, 180 c. ff.

<sup>3</sup> Speech of Sokrates, ib.; esp. 208 E, ff.

<sup>4</sup> xiii, 6 ff.

age they fought on foot) was formed of pairs of lovers.<sup>1</sup> At Sparta, the like institution was considered an important side of education, and it was an unlucky boy who was never taken up and inspired to follow the paths of honour by some good man and soldier.<sup>2</sup> Xenophon, who tells us this, assures us that the ideal of such friendships was a very high one; there is certainly no doubt that they often lasted on through life and were not mere affairs of fleeting physical passion that ended with the adolescence of the boy. But when Xenophon adds that it was considered disgraceful for the physical side of the matter to be in evidence at all, then, thinking of the general roughness and fierceness of Greek life in the early days, one can only hope, and doubt. He lived in an age when Greece had gained in orderliness and lost in virtue, and there can be little doubt that he idealizes the distant hills of the past. There is no doubt at all with regard to Elis or Boiotia, as Xenophon himself tells us; nor concerning those other Dorian communities which developed on parallel lines to Sparta, the cities of Crete, in some at least of which a kind of legalized rape on a hunting expedition had become a familiar social institution.<sup>3</sup>

In the Ionian states, on the other hand, homosexuality did not nearly so readily win the approval of respectable people.<sup>4</sup> At Chalkis in early days, we hear, such friendships were mistrusted, until the turning of the tide of a critical battle by the gallant conduct of a lover, who lost his life on the field, converted his city, and also inspired a famous song.<sup>5</sup> In the late sixth century poets, Anakreon and Ibykos, there is certainly philandering enough; but after all, they were the court-poets of a licentious tyrant. Athens, as we saw, long continued to disapprove. The set of young aristocrats to which Plato belonged was a minority —emancipated, free-thinking, suspected by the plain

<sup>1</sup> Plut. *Pelopidas*, 18. For the Boiotian custom, cf. Plato, loc. cit., 182 B.

<sup>2</sup> Xen., *Spartan Polity*, ii, 12 ff.; Plut., *Lykourg.* 17.

<sup>3</sup> Strabo, x, 483; cf. Ar., *Politics*, 1272b.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Plato, 182 B, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Plutarch, *Love Stories* (*Mor.*, p. 760) = Aristotle, fr. 107 Müller.

Aristophanic Tory-democrat, and inclined, for social reasons, to feel or affect an admiration for Spartan things. It is worth while to emphasize this, as it exposes the hollowness of the shallow and ridiculous racial theory, that homosexuality is only adopted by the virtuous "Aryan" European when he is seduced by the obscene Mediterranean. To this Greek history gives no support at all. The immigrant European Greek was the most addicted to it and the purely Mediterranean Ionians take to it only later and then with much hesitation.

We have now covered the ground, swiftly but with fair thoroughness, and may pronounce.

The keys to the understanding of Greek sex-morality are two. First, as we saw in an earlier chapter,<sup>1</sup> the widespread "sense of sin" attaching to sex—with its easily recognizable physiological cause—while not absent from Greece, was comparatively weak there. This is probably at once a cause and an effect of the fact which we observed recently, that Greek morals are based not on "Thou Shalt Not . . ." but on "Not Too Much". But, secondly, the dominant male sex did impose a severe standard of chastity on its women and girls; a phenomenon that seems often to be characteristic of a patriarchal society in which the sense of property and of the family is strong. (It is important to realize that though not all Greek states kept their women, as Athens did, in a sort of semi-purdah, the freer girls of Sparta or Mitylene were expected to be virgin until their marriage and faithful after it, no less than the cloistered Ionians.) This led to two unintended social consequences, prostitution and homosexuality. The latter, however, was redeemed from mere animalism, simply, we may venture to assert, by the keenness of the Greek intellect—its sensitivity to ugliness and beauty, and its aliveness to other interests than the sensual. In fact, here as always, a sane view of sex was based not on repression of the sex instinct itself, but on the presence along with it of interests in the other aspects of the world; so that sex, instead of seeming to

<sup>1</sup> pp. 58, 55.

fill the whole field, as in many diseased characters—not least, in those where repression has been attempted—becomes merely one element, and that not dominant, in an ordered and harmonious life.

The question whether Greek homosexuality was or was not sensual, we have now seen to be a bad question. The answer to it is Yes; but it is an incomplete answer. A high ideal of friendship between young males of differing ages we have seen to be widespread, and such friendships usually contained a strongly "romantic" element. To deny that such friendships often had a purely carnal side, as Plutarch does in his picture of Sparta, is surely to sentimentalize our picture of early Greece unduly. On the other hand, if we mistrust Plutarch, we need not on that account accept every breath of scandal retailed by a still later and more uncritical writer, the muck-raking Alexandrian, Athenaios; and to deny that perfectly "pure" though fierily romantic friendships can exist between quite ordinary mortals is a product of disapproving puritanism quite as one-sided as its opposite, the idealizing type of sentimentality. One might quote the classic example of David and Jonathan; or, from a more recent history, T. E. Lawrence's observations apropos of Farraj and Daud:—

"They were an instance of the eastern boy and boy affection which the segregation of women made inevitable. Such friendships often led to manly loves of a depth and force beyond our flesh-steeped conceit. When innocent they were hot and unashamed. If sexuality entered, they passed into a give and take, unspiritual relation."<sup>1</sup>

As to the attitude of respectable Greeks to these matters, we can again give no monosyllabic answer. Certainly at Athens the majority of decent people looked upon physical homosexuality as degrading; and probably many men did so at Sparta too; but what the proportions were, the evidence, of course, does not permit of our giving any answer at all. At Athens, it is clear from Aischines' speech against Timarchos that *mercenary* homosexuality disqualified the

<sup>1</sup> *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*, p. 237.

prostitute for the exercise of citizen rights ; but from the fact that Timarchos was actually practising as a politician, until Aischines fell upon him as a move in the party political game, it is clear that even that law was usually a dead letter ; and to what might happen under cover of the name of "friendship", neither law nor public opinion seems to have set any generally effective limit.

The net result of it all seems to have been that the sex-life of Greek males was remarkably free and untrammelled ; always with the proviso that, owing to the restrictions imposed on women, it was turned to a rather abnormal extent into homosexual channels. But the Greek genius was able to turn even this diversion or perversion to good effect ; to the finer types of men, it became the inspiration of much of what was noblest in Greek life, and one may venture the opinion that the relative freedom of "Nothing Too Much", as compared with "Thou Shalt Not", did far more good by the avoidance of energy-wasting repressions than harm by the encouragement of sensuality.

That this was so is a tribute to the sensitiveness to beauty and ugliness of ancient Greece ; it is not necessarily an argument for sexual laxity everywhere. When the free Greek code was adopted by a coarse-grained nation like the Romans, the results, as many passages in Cicero's speeches and Catullus' poems bear witness, were exceedingly unpleasant.

One by-product of the Greek freedom from the obsessing sense of sin was the final discarding of all clothing by males when taking exercise. This also took place during the dark age. Boxers and runners in the Homeric poems always wear at least loin-cloths.<sup>1</sup> Hesiod on the contrary apparently made Meilanion run naked in his contest with Atalanta<sup>2</sup> ; a sign of his later date, as a scholiast on Homer shrewdly remarks. About 720, at Olympia (so Greek stories, backed by an early inscription, said<sup>3</sup>), the runner Orsippos of Megara

<sup>1</sup> e.g., *Il.* xxiii, 688.

<sup>2</sup> Σ Townleianus, on *Il.*, loc. cit. (= Hes. frag. 22 Rzach).

<sup>3</sup> Paus. i, 44, 1 ; C.I.G. 1050 ; cf. Thk. i, 6.

was in a fair way to win the furlong race when his loin-cloth became detached. He did not stop to recover it, and won ; and, public opinion being ready for a change, his conduct, like that of the celebrated Rugbeian who picked up the ball and ran with it, established a precedent. Henceforth, Greek men and boys exercised naked, and to be ashamed to do this was the mark of a barbarian. The debt of Greek sculpture to athletics, or, as we should rather call it, "gymnastic," needs no emphasizing. It is characteristic that Romans in their "classical" age, considered "gymnastic" indecent and a danger to public morals. This merely emphasizes the moral inferiority of Romans and perhaps Greeks in the last century B.C. to Greeks in the eighth or sixth.

Freedom from the sense and the fear of sin, and from the evil effects of sex-repression, in whole sections of the Greek male sex : there is a phenomenon that goes far towards accounting for the brilliance of Greek civilization and for the sanity and humanism that gives it its special character. But along with this we should never forget the submerged half of the human race—the women. For them there was no such freedom ; and among them, from the very few intimate glimpses which we have of their part in Greek life, there does seem reason to think that the nervous tension that so often results from a purely negative and repressive sexual control was common. There is Euripides' terrible portrait-gallery of bitter and thwarted women, wronged and vengeful. There is Sappho. In her, undoubtedly, playing the game according to the rules—the impact between irresistible force and immovable barrier—did produce the fire of great poetry ; but she never achieves the serenity of, say, Plato—even Plato in his poems. One does, in reading her, get a sense of almost intolerable strain. And there is a reference in an early satirist—a satirist, yes, but it is a passing reference, and all the more valuable for that—to women meeting together and relieving their pent-up feelings in obscene talk.<sup>1</sup>

Our evidence, such as it is, then, on early Greece is not inconsistent with the striking and carefully worked-out

<sup>1</sup> Semonides of Amorgos, frag. 7 (Diehl), 92–3.

theory of Mr. J. D. Unwin<sup>1</sup>; the theory that the social energy manifested by any society in the task of controlling and dominating its environment is strictly proportional to the *restriction*, over not less than three generations, of the sexual opportunity of its members; and that restrictions imposed on the women are more important than restrictions imposed on the men. If this theory is true—and the mass of evidence from uncivilized societies adduced in support of it is certainly impressive, at least at first sight—then we must emphasize the severity of the rules under which Greek women lived for at least five hundred years as a factor of the utmost importance in the history of Greek culture; while adding that that culture could hardly have developed as it did without the relative freedom from energy-wasting repressions that was the heritage of the Greek male.

In the law protecting human life, too—the homicide law—the dark age witnessed a change of ideas. In this matter there is nothing in the least “modern” about the ideas either of the Homeric heroes or of their descendants. In both ages the avenging of bloodshed is the business of the next of kin and to some extent of the family in general. The state intervenes only secondarily, if at all.

The prevailing ideas are entirely irrational or sub-rational and, so to speak, sub-moral. Blood calls for blood. The duty of taking vengeance devolves automatically, and the question whether a homicide was premeditated, provoked, justifiable, or accidental does not arise. Bloodshed, like sex, naturally calls into play man’s strongest instincts and emotions, and in any society reason does not easily make its influence felt in the regulations connected therewith. Even in classical Athens the prosecution for homicide was still the business of the next of kin—a “private” prosecution, the *δικη φόνου*, not a *γραφή* which could be brought by any citizen who chose; and even in classical Athens we find the case imagined of a boy who has incautiously run across a gymnasium and been killed by a javelin thrown at a mark

<sup>1</sup> *Sex and Culture* (Oxford, 1934).

by another boy ; his case is taken up by his father, as in duty bound, against the innocent slayer ; and the latter boy's father defends him not by pleading the innocence of his intention or that the whole thing is pure accident and misadventure, but by the ingenious sophistry that the dead boy was *responsible for his own death*.<sup>1</sup> The javelin was flying, he argues, and the boy who got in its way *killed himself*. In this case then, the cause of death is himself dead, and there is no more to be said or done. The unformulated theory is that in any killing the deceased's honour demands that the cause of death, the responsible party, *aītios*, be found and punished. Even classical Athens never questioned this rule. But in some cases, as in the trial scene at the Bouphonia (see pp. 69 f.) the consequences are avoided by the legal fiction that the responsible party was an inanimate object, which is then solemnly tried, found guilty, and destroyed. The same procedure was also adopted in cases where no human agency was in question at all, as when a man had been killed by a statue falling from its pedestal or by the collapse of a beam.<sup>2</sup> It is the same sub-rational or pre-rational principle that underlies the old English law of deodand, by which the beast or cart or other object that had caused the death of a man was solemnly "devoted" to God as a thing accursed. So when Perikles and Protagoras argued all one morning about another case of death from an unlucky javelin-cast—whether the thrower was "responsible", or the javelin, or the man in charge of the Games where the accident occurred<sup>3</sup>—they were discussing no merely scholastic puzzle, but a question of the relations between Greek morality and jurisprudence that might involve the happiness of many.

<sup>1</sup> Antiphon, *Tetralogy* i.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Demos., *Aristokr.* ch. 76, p. 645, on the δικαιστήριον ἐπὶ Πρυτανεῖω : Paus. i, 28, 10, who says that it originated in the days of King Erechtheus, when the Bouphonia was first established ; Pollux. viii, 120, who adds that the object accused, if condemned, was cast out beyond the boundaries of the country (as was done with dead men's bones when a whole family was outlawed ; cf. Ar., *Ath. Pol.*, ad init.). Paus. vi, 11, 6 ff., mentions a case in point, at Thasos, where a statue which had fallen on a man was tried and cast into the sea.

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, *Perikles*, 36, 3.

So it had been since Homer's time. If you had killed a member of the community, it was quite irrelevant to offer any excuses about accident or tender years. Patroklos as a child had killed another boy in a quarrel over a game ; his father took him into exile to save his life.<sup>1</sup> Xenophon met among the Ten Thousand a Spartan who had been exiled from his home since childhood for exactly the same cause.<sup>2</sup> Nor was the *crime passionel* condoned, as the hero Hyettos found, in one of the Hesiodic catalogue-poems,<sup>3</sup> when he killed an adulterer.

When wilful murder has been done, this grim rule is observed in all its rigour. A vendetta may last for generations. Aigisthos in the legend avenges upon Agamemnon, in the next generation, the wrong done to his father Thyestes by Agamemnon's father Atreus, and "Now death itself seems good to me" he cries.<sup>4</sup> In historic Greece, too, we hear of children being trained up in the idea that they have a sacred vengeance to perform ; brought up carefully and instructed in hatred with the terrible persistence and intensity of feeling of which Greek women—Euripides' women—were capable. Even at Athens there are cases of this<sup>5</sup> ; and another instance is that of the fearful struggle between Aristodemos the tyrant of Cumæ and the avengers of those whom he had killed.<sup>6</sup> Achilles manifests the same passion for revenge, even against the slayer of his friend in the mêlée of war ; and at the end of the poem he apologizes to Patroklos for giving up the body of Hektor for honourable burial.<sup>7</sup> It is a grim but true saying of that old poet of the dark age : "Fool, who, slaying the father, leaves the children."<sup>8</sup>

It is the weaknesses of human nature that introduce the first mitigations of the law of vengeance, rather than any intrusion of reason. The vengeance allowed and even enjoined by custom, as we see, was absolutely implacable and pitiless ;

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* xxiii, 85-8.

<sup>2</sup> *Anab.* iv, 8, 25.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. ix, 86, 6 ; Rzach, frag. 144.

<sup>4</sup> *Agamemnon*, 1610-11.

<sup>5</sup> Lysias, *Agoratos*, 42 ; cf. also Isaios, *Astyphilos*, 20.

<sup>6</sup> D.H., *Ant. Rom.* vii, 9-11.

<sup>7</sup> *Il.* xxiv, 592-5.

<sup>8</sup> *Kypria*, quoted in Ar. *Rhetic*, i, 15, etc.

but when the killing had been accidental, or provoked, and there had been no ill-feeling present before, it was not always easy to work up all the hatred that the vengeful ghost of the departed might be considered to demand. It is in such cases that, even in Homer, we find the humarer institution of the *wergild* coming in. "A man will take a recompense," says Ajax, "even from the slayer of a son or brother; so (the slayer) remains in the land [instead of fleeing into exile] having paid a great price, and the other's proud spirit is appeased."<sup>1</sup> Then, no doubt, there would be careful apologies to the ghost, as later from Achilles to Patroklos, for forgoing the last extremities of vengeance, and prayers that the ghost be satisfied with the rich offerings made. That is one way in which a vendetta may be averted or brought to an end. Another is by the slayer, especially an innocent slayer, casting himself upon the mercy of the avengers, in the hope that they may feel *aidos* towards him: *aidos*, that revulsion of feeling that may sometimes hold one back from doing something that no public opinion would condemn, such as killing the man who is at your mercy, and whose life is forfeit according to the customary law. This "forgiveness" is *αιδεσις*, *αιδεσθαι*, and it could only be given, originally, by the unanimous decision of the fellow-clansmen of the dead man. The reason for this is clear: if the deceased's next of kin fails to follow up the feud—*ἐπεξελθεῖν*—then the duty devolves upon the next, and so on in order; so that no forgiveness would be at all reassuring to the culprit unless it were given by all the deceased's kinsmen within a fairly comprehensive table of kindred and affinity. "Forgiveness must be given by all, or the dissentient voice shall prevail"; so runs an important inscription dealing with these matters.<sup>2</sup> (It is, of course, characteristic

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* ix, 632 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *αιδέοσθαι ἄπαντας*, η τὸν κωλύοντα κρατεῖν. *Inscrs. Juridiques Grecques*, No. 21, 18-14; the text quoted, in season and out of season, by Glotz, *Solidarité*, 44, 122, 171, 324. It is important to realize that the only context to which the inscription actually refers, however, is that with which we are now dealing. In the other places where M. Glotz quotes it, it has only the relevance of an interesting "parallel instance"; such relevance as a quotation from the laws of Moses or Manu might have had.

of family or clan councils among so-called primitive peoples in many parts of the world, that decisions are taken unanimously, if at all ; in almost all cases, after more or less discussion, agreement is reached or, as Lord Raglan says, one party shouts down the others and, without anything in the way of formal voting, the meeting breaks up and passes from deliberation to action. Such a state of affairs is all but impossible in a meeting of any size, in a society in which individuality is as strongly developed and sensitive as in our own.<sup>1)</sup>

But not only the family but also the state had probably drawn its bonds closer in the course of the dark age, under the influence of circumstances in which men felt that they must stand shoulder to shoulder or perish ; and even in Homer, in a famous, fascinating, and endlessly discussed passage, there is probably a reference to the intervention of the State in mitigation of the blood-feud. The passage is, of course, the Trial-scene from the divine-wrought Shield of Achilles.<sup>2</sup> “The people were gathered together in the market place ; and there two men were disputing about the price of a man slain. The one was claiming to have paid all in full, setting the matter forth to the people ; but the other was refusing to take anything. Both were eager to receive an end of the matter before an arbitrator. The people were cheering them on, as supporters on either side, and heralds were controlling the people ; and the Elders sat on polished stones in the sacred circle, and held in their hands the staves of the loud voiced heralds ; these they brandished, and gave judgment in turn. Two talents of gold lay in the midst,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. W. H. R. Rivers, *Instinct and the Unconscious*, pp. 94 ff. He tells how, among the Pacific Islands, his boat's crew of Melanesians—the warlike, forward race of Oceania—would take their places without any apparent discussion, even of the question who should have the easiest post, that of cox. Rivers sought in vain for any evidence of definite leadership in warfare among the western Solomon Islanders, and is convinced that in the councils of all these peoples there is no voting. Cf. also Gerald Heard, *Ascent of Humanity*, pp. 44, 50, etc., for these and other instances of the undeveloped individual “selfhood” of so-called primitives ; and Raglan, *Jocasta's Crime*, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Iliad*, xviii, 497 ff. For discussions, cf. Maine, Glotz, Fustel de Coulanges, *opps. citt.*; etc.

to give to him who should give judgment among them most forthrightly."

The translation given seems to suit the Greek better than the various others proposed. *ὅ μὲν εὑχετο πάντ' ἀποδοῦναι* can hardly, consistently with the usual meaning of *εὐχομαι*, mean "he *claimed the right to*" atone in money instead of by death or flight. On the other hand *ἀναίνετο μηδὲν ἐλέσθαι* can hardly mean "he denied having received anything", else the negative would be *οὐ* and not *μὴ*. What we have, then, is not a mere dispute about a particular question of fact, but a question of law of much more universal significance, as perhaps the poet himself realized. It is not in the interest of the community to have its warriors killed in vendettas, and consequently the State intervenes in the affairs of its subjects here much earlier than in most other matters. Here we have probably the State, through its elders, deliberating as to whether to enforce in this case the acceptance of a wergild, as in a case of accidental or more or less justifiable homicide, or whether to consider this a wilful murder, in which case the law of private vengeance and blood for blood must take its course. The "two talents of gold" that lie by are certainly not the wergild itself; the sum is far too small, less than the value of a good slave.<sup>1</sup> The Homeric talent is a small unit, perhaps the Levantine shekel. The sum, one talent put down probably by each litigant, is probably a court-fee, to be given perhaps by acclamation to the author of the sagest decision among the judges.

Another early practice, which Aristotle calls a "foolish old law", is also best explained as the state's method of checking private family-war—that of *compurgation*. At Kyme in Aiolis, we hear,<sup>2</sup> if a man were accused of murder, then, if the accuser produced a specified number of "witnesses" of his own family, the accused was held guilty. The system may not have worked out badly in a close-knit society where the divine anger against perjury was really

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* xxiii, 262 ff., where a well-trained woman slave (*ἀμύμονα ἔργα λόνιαν*) and a large three-legged bowl make up the first prize, and two talents of gold the fourth prize.

<sup>2</sup> *Politics*, 1269 A.

feared ; one may compare the Greek use of the ordeal by fire at this time—fire-walking, or grasping red-hot iron.<sup>1</sup> But, above all, compurgation was an alternative to actually fighting it out. The same phenomenon appears in Crete, in the fifth-century laws of Gortyn, which preserve many archaic ideas. “That side shall prevail, on which the greater number of witnesses swear,” says one enactment.<sup>2</sup> M. Glotz<sup>3</sup> pleasingly suggests that this represented originally a sort of review and reckoning up of the embattled forces of the two clans concerned, with a view to assigning the victory to the side adjudged stronger, without the bloodshed to be expected in an actual battle. The state’s motive in intervening may be seen, further, in a negative case. There was no penalty for parricide, at Athens, in the late seventh-century code of Drakon,<sup>4</sup> whose homicide sections long remained in force.<sup>5</sup> This was not, as Greeks inevitably alleged, because the ancient law-giver in his innocence never conceived of such a crime. It was because killing within the *genos* was the private affair of the clan concerned, and was dealt with by its members among themselves. For the same reason, in the earliest known Teutonic customary law, there is no tariff of wergild for killing within the clan, because the clan, being collectively liable for the deeds of its members, is collectively responsible for finding the man-price ; so that in such a case the man-price would be a payment from the clan to itself.<sup>6</sup> It certainly would not follow that the killer within the family remained unpunished ; the clan would see to that.

Two other “medieval” traits are characteristic of the dark age in Greece. One of them is simply a recrudescence or survival of crude old superstition, and may well have been known to Homer without ever being mentioned by that well-bred aristocrats’ poet. There was a good deal of fear of ghosts of the malevolent dead in early Greece ; ghosts,

<sup>1</sup> *Antigone*, 264–5.

<sup>2</sup> Laws of Gortyn, ii, §§ 36–41.

<sup>3</sup> *Solidarité*, part ii, chap. v, *La Cojuration*.

<sup>4</sup> See Glotz, op. cit., pp. 321–2.

<sup>5</sup> The only part of his code not repealed under Solon’s legislation ; Ar. *Ath. Pol.* vii.

<sup>6</sup> R. C. Chadwick, *The Heroic Age*, p. 346.

as among the Norsemen, of a very solid and fleshly kind.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, to prevent your murdered foe from walking after you in the night, you mutilated him, cutting off his hands and feet and putting them under his armpits, sometimes threaded on a string.<sup>2</sup> He could not do much walking or grasping after that. It is a practice in the same vein as the quite recent driving of a stake through the bodies of suicides in England (to keep them where they were, in their graves), or the digging up and mangling of the corpse of a suspected "vampire" by Hungarian peasants, of which Glotz (pp. 63–4) quotes an instance from Pesth newspapers of 1893. Similar practices are reported from many parts of the world. Recently (1935) an Indian so-called Christian in Tinnevelly was fined for desecrating a grave-yard. He had been living with another man's wife, and, when his rival died, went surreptitiously and drove several stakes into his grave. Instances could be multiplied.

The other trait, if less sensational, is more significant, since it certainly does show a change of ideas in Greece after the Homeric age.

Telemachos leaving the Peloponnese sees a stranger hastening towards his ship. He turns out to be a man-slayer, cast out by his people, Theoklymenos the soothsayer. He begs for a passage, and without a moment's hesitation the Ithakans give him one. Later Greeks would hardly have been so willing, at any rate if Theoklymenos had been so candid. It would have been feared that the anger of heaven hung over the murderer and that no good would come of the voyage of the ship that carried him. One need only cite Antiphon's speech, actually delivered before an Athenian jury, *On the murder of Herodes*, where the young defendant offers as presumptive evidence of his innocence the fact that no misadventure had befallen the ship in which

<sup>1</sup> Cf., e.g., the story of the ghost "laid" by Euthymos the boxer at Italian Lokroi, Strabo, vi, 255, Paus. vi, 6, 7–10—a story quite in the great tradition of Grettir and Glam.

<sup>2</sup> Hence the names for the practice, *ἀκρωτηρίασμος*, and *μασχάλισμος*, "arm-pitting". Cf. Aisch., *Choephoroi*, 489; Soph., *Elektra*, 442–6 and Σ, Soph., *Troilos*, in Suidas, s.v. ἐμασχαλίσθη, and also Suidas s. vv. *ἀκρωτηριάζω*, *μασχαλισθῆναι*.

he travelled. The earliest evidence of the change of ideas, known to us, comes in a typical work of literature of the dark age, the "cyclic" epic sequel to the *Iliad* called the *Aithiopis*, ascribed to Arktinos of Miletos; there, Achilles was represented as having been stung by a taunt into killing the ribald Thersites with a heroic box on the ear; and then, having taken life within the community, he is held to need purification, which he receives in Lesbos at the hands of Odysseus.<sup>1</sup> With this story we are more than half-way from the cheerful secularism of Homer to the serious and even gloomy religious questionings of Aischylos. This is a clear case of the reaction in "medieval" Greece from a humanist to a religious point of view. Other cases are conspicuous in the legends. When Orestes avenges his father upon Aigisthos, to Homer he has won "infinite glory", and that is all. There is nothing in the *Odyssey*, amid several references to that story,<sup>2</sup> about the horrors of Orestes' position, ordered by the oracle to kill his own mother for the sake of his father, nor about the Erinyes who pursued him afterwards. And Oidipous, though it is recognized that his is a painful story, does not in Homer put out his own eyes and wander off as a beggar when he learns of his unwitting deed. On the contrary "though in sore distress" it is explicitly said that he went on reigning over Thebes.<sup>3</sup>

In short, such "sense of sin" as most Greeks had they owed to their "medieval" not to their epic heritage; it is a simple case of reaction from one to the other. We may prefer the lighter-hearted earlier poet. Nevertheless, Aischylos' sense of sin and his deep broodings on suffering, deserved and undeserved, would hardly be possible without the great epics' revelation of what the beauty and value of the life and spirit of man could be, and are a not unnatural development of reflection upon that earlier poetry. So, thesis, antithesis, synthesis, show themselves again as the forms of progress.

<sup>1</sup> See Proklos' summary of the *Aithiopis*.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* i, 29-43, 298-300; iii, 303-310 (the only place where the death of "his hateful mother" is mentioned); iv, 512-546; xi, 405-461.

<sup>3</sup> *Od.* xi, 271-280.

## CHAPTER V

### PLAY

THE study of law, with its inevitable emphasis on the misfortunes and misfits of society, tends to give an unattractive picture of the society in question. Our impression of Greek society in the eighth century, if left to depend entirely on homicide-law, sex-restrictions, superstition, and magic, may easily become lopsided. As a corrective, let us remind ourselves of the success, the growth, and the stability of this society. If it does not develop and change with the brilliant but unstable swiftness of "Renaissance" and classical Greece, yet growth there is. Political forms were changing, as we saw. Population was growing; the sudden outbreak of Greek colonization at the end of our period is the proof of it. There are other matters which we can best consider when taking a survey of the political map of Greece in this age; the introduction of the thoroughbred horse and of cavalry instead of chariotry, and the evolution of the phalanx of pikemen; foreign trade-contacts, and the part played by Phoenicians. Above all, new contacts between states were developing, as yet on a small scale only, to take the place of that political union of Greece which had existed for a moment in late Minoan times, and had gone down in the débâcle. The villages of this or that district group themselves in an *amphiktiony* or League of Neighbours, usually for the pious purpose of unhampered worship in due season at some holy place. Some regions or tribes went further and founded genuine more or less closely-knit territorial states, Attica, Boiotia, the Phokian League. Even when a league remained merely a religious *amphiktiony*, whose members might go to war with each other between-whiles, still its influence was not unimportant. Combination for any purpose, however limited, led to a fellow-feeling; the savagery of war was often mitigated, as between members, by agreement or

humane usage<sup>1</sup>; and periodically would come the sacred Truce of God for the local festival, when all swords were sheathed. It was a great advance on the state of affairs in which all outsiders were *ἐχθροί*, enemies. Competitions in music and athletics often formed part of the worship at such a festival; and also, during the sacred truce, when the roads were safer, the scene of every such "general gathering", as the Greeks called it, was thronged by pedlars, wandering rhapsodists with the treasures of Homer in their mouths, strolling craftsmen and entertainers of every kind.

An early Greek festival was the expression of the common emotions of the whole people, joy, grief, anxiety, thanksgiving, through the changing seasons; emotions finding their natural outlet in religion. The beauty of these festivals was then enhanced with the growth of a simple luxury among the nobles. Athletics, poetry, and music were the play of the Greek nobles, the occupation of their leisure and the most harmless outlet for their surplus energy. "A man has no greater glory in all his life"—says the young Laodamas in Homer—"than that which he wins with his own feet and hands"<sup>2</sup>; and Odysseus, in the same wise poem: "Good it is to listen to a bard such as this, like to the gods in voice. I say there is no thing more delightful than when there is good cheer among all the people, and the banqueters in the house listen to the bard, sitting in order, while the tables are full of bread and meat, and the cup-bearer carries the wine and fills the goblets."<sup>3</sup> And since Greek religion was the expression of the whole of life, not only of some aspects of it, it was natural that Greeks should perform in honour of the God all those activities that they felt to be the fine flower of their existence. Hence the competitions in epic recitation and in choral or individual song, to which at the more famous Greek festivals competitors came from far afield; and hence also the athletics. When Greek boys or men or maidens danced in chorus before a shrine, they "worshipped with their whole bodies" in Professor Murray's

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* viii, 147-8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*, ix, 8 ff.

charming phrase ; and when they ran their races at Olympia, so did they then.

In the same way, actions could show one's respect for a dead chieftain or hero, perhaps better than words ; and hence the funeral games, and the marching round the pyre, for Patroklos in the *Iliad*, and regularly for kings and nobles in early historic Greece. The great Dipylon vases of Athens show the barbaric pomp of such a funeral, with chariots in procession and keening women, and the dead man stiff and straight under his shroud.

Athletics, poetry, and music are the things that give early Greek civilization its special character and its peculiar charm, and in the games at the great "Gatherings" Greek life is seen at its high tide. Thus the old Ionian Hymn to the Delian Apollo<sup>1</sup> :—

" . . . Lord of the Silver Bow, far-shooting Apollo . . . many are thy temples and thy shady groves ; all the high peaks are thine, and the towering shoulders of the great mountains, and rivers that flow to the sea ; but in Delos dost thou most delight, O Phoibos, where the long-robed Ionians gather to thee, with their children and their noble wives. And they delight thee with boxing and dancing and song, remembering thee, when they make ready the contest. One would say that they were immortal and ageless evermore, who should come then, when the Ionians are gathered together ; for he would see the beauty of them all, and delight his heart, looking upon the men and the fair-girdled women and swift ships and their great wealth. Moreover there is this great wonder, whose fame shall never perish ; the daughters of Delos, handmaidens of the Far-Shooter. First they sing the praise of Apollo ; and next, of Leto and the Archer Artemis ; and then they tell of men and women of old time, chanting their song, and they charm the tribes of men."

And Pindar in his odes of Victory for athletes has caught in a few famous lines the very feeling of the warm summer night at Olympia during the festival, under the full moon,

<sup>1</sup> *Homeric Hymns*, iii, 140, 148-161.

with its music and feasting and its background of athletic prowess and companionship. He tells us who won all the events when Herakles first founded the Games, and adds : “ and all the friendly army cheered aloud ; and the lovely light of the fair-faced moon made bright the evening, and all the holy place was full of feasting and song.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Olympian Odes*, x, 72–6.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE GREEK STATES IN THE DARK AGE

BY about 950 at latest the Migrations were over and the map of historic Greece had taken its shape. In all Peloponnesos, only Arkadia remains unconquered. All round her, along the coasts, appear what are conveniently called the "conquest dialects"—the Doric of Sparta and Lakonia, Messene, Argos and the north-east, and the similar speech of the Achaians of the north coastal strip and of the men of Elis or, as they called it, Walis, the Hollow Vale. Darians, too, "hall-marked" as such by their division into the three tribes, Hylleis, Pamphylois, Dymanes, characteristic of every Dorian community, occupied the adjacent islands, Melos and Thera; the inhabitants believed that they had come from Lakonia,<sup>1</sup> as did the men of Lyktos<sup>2</sup> in Crete. The Darians of many other Cretan cities said that their ancestors came from Argos, or from Northern Greece by sea<sup>3</sup> (as did the Darians of Corinth<sup>4</sup>), while those of Rhodes and Kos, with Knidos and Halikarnassos on the neighbouring Asiatic mainland, traced their descent from men of Argolis.<sup>5</sup> Only at Praisos in Crete remained a population of "True-Cretans",<sup>6</sup> un-Dorized and un-Hellenized, using in historic times, as three famous inscriptions show, the Greek alphabet, to write a language that has not yet been satisfactorily interpreted as Greek in spite of much ingenuity, and is probably pre-Hellenic.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Melos, Hdt. viii, 48; Thk. v, 84; Thera, Hdt. iv, 147–8.

<sup>2</sup> Ar., *Politics*, ii, 1271b.

<sup>3</sup> Str. x, 475, 479.

<sup>4</sup> Thk. iv, 42, cf. Ar. ap. Phot. *Lexicon*, p. 594 (= frag. 143 Muller).

<sup>5</sup> Rhodes, Thk. vii, 57 (from Argos); cf. Il. ii, 653 ff.; Kos, Hdt. vii, 99 (Epidauros); Knidos, Str. xiv, 653 (or from Lakonia, Hdt. i, 174); Halikarnassos, Hdt. vii, 99 (Troizen). Cf. Il. ii, 676–9. on early Herakleids—the two sons of Thessalos (!) in these waters.

<sup>6</sup> Hdt. vii, 170.

<sup>7</sup> Walker (*Three Inscriptions from Crete*, Monaco, 1925) tries to interpret these as primitive Greek, but has not carried general conviction.

And away beyond all these, in Cyprus and on the neighbouring Pamphylian coast,<sup>1</sup> reappears a dialect akin to the Arkadian. It is sufficiently clear that the intrusion of the Dorians has broken a continuity that must once have existed, when Arkadians stretched to the sea and were bold sailors who could conquer and colonize beyond it. The importation of their dialect into Cyprus will have taken place either about 1400, when Aegean civilization, in its Third Late-Minoan stage, first overran the island (and when, after the destruction of the great palace at Knossos, the Greek mainland was also influencing Crete), or about 1200, when archæology shows a general turmoil in Cyprus as elsewhere<sup>2</sup>; “the isles were restless, disturbed among themselves,” as the King of Egypt says on his monument; and it was not long before this date that those Hittite tablets tell us, according to the prevailing interpretation, that a chieftain with a Greek name was active also in Pamphylia.<sup>3</sup>

In like manner in Northern Greece, dialects akin to Doric, spoken by the Malians, Ainianes, and Northern Achaioi, about the Malian Gulf, break the continuity of the Aiolic dialect as spoken in Thessaly and Boiotia; and Aiolic is a pre-conquest dialect; there are traces of it in the poems of Homer, and it was spoken at its purest in Aiolis on the north-west coast of Asia, where it is known to us from the surviving remains of Lesbian poetry. And the cities of Lesbos and the neighbouring coast are represented in the tradition of settlements of refugees fleeing before the storm of the migrations.<sup>4</sup>

An obvious question is how it came to pass that Thessaly and Boiotia, the two most powerful “conquest” states of the north,<sup>5</sup> should be precisely the areas where, in a modified

<sup>1</sup> See Meillet, “Place du Pamphylien dans les Dialectes grecques,” in *Rev. des Ét. Grecques*, xxi.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Myres, in *C.A.H.* iii, 635 ff., 643 ff.

<sup>3</sup> On this much discussed episode, see (primarily) Forrer, “Vorhomerische Griechen in den Keilschrifttexten von Boghazkoi”, in *Mitteil. d. Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch.*, March, 1924; Glotz and Cohen, *Hist. Gr.* i, 92 (in the *Histoire Générale*); Sayce (who reads the name as “Perseus”) in *J.H.S.* xlvi, pp. 161 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See below, pp. 176 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Specifically mentioned as conquest states by Thucydides, i, 12.

form, the pre-conquest dialect survived. A possible answer is that in these two eminently desirable regions, which were occupied by particularly powerful bodies of conquerors, there were also, naturally, particularly numerous pre-conquest inhabitants, strong enough numerically to affect the dialect of the invaders when peaceful intercourse began. It remains true, however, that the Boiotian dialect on its non-Aiolic side bears a strong resemblance to the Doric of the Peloponnese.

Finally, Ionic, the dialect of a race always represented as pre-conquest and even aboriginal, is spoken throughout a compact area in the central Aegean ; Euboia, the Cyclades, and the twelve important cities of Asiatic Ionia—the coastal strip, with the great islands of Chios and Samos. On the mainland it retains a footing in Attica alone, if, indeed, it was ever spoken over a wider area. For it would seem to be quite a possibility that Ionic as a separate dialect dates only from the dark ages, developing from Aiolic by modification of vowel sounds in the area of common culture whose centre was the sacred island of Delos.<sup>1</sup> Ionia is described by the traditions as having been colonized largely from that central-Greek area<sup>2</sup> whose pre-conquest dialect (to judge by Boiotia and Thessaly) must have been Aiolic ; and such a theory would account for those Aiolic survivals in Homer's language which we have had occasion to mention already (p. 34, n. 4). The four Ionic tribes, Hopletes, Geleontes, Aigikoreis, and

<sup>1</sup> So thinks Meyer (*Forschungen*, i, p. 133) ; also Wilamowitz, e.g. in *Oropos und die Graer*, in *Hermes*, 1886. The fact that the distribution of the Arkado-Cypriote dialects shows them to have developed in the second millennium B.C., and after that to have changed on parallel lines if at all, does not, of course, prove that Ionic as a separate dialect is equally old. So, in modern Europe, English (like Ionic in being the product of the fusion of many elements) has diverged from the parental German much more than Spanish from Italian, while Welsh and Breton actually remain mutually intelligible after 1,500 years of only sporadic contact. For the speed with which vowel sounds can change, cf. modern English : e.g. er formerly pronounced ar, a sound preserved in some dialects and many place-names, while some family names have changed their spelling to keep the sound ; e.g. Derby, Darby, Bernard, Barnard. Pope, as is well known, rhymes "join" and "line", "obey" and "tea".

<sup>2</sup> Hdt. i, 146 ; Abantes of Euboia, Minyai of Orchomenos, Kadmeians (of Thebes), Dryopes (from the later Doris north of Phokis) ; with Molossians, Arkadians, and Dorians of Epidauros.

Argadeis, whose origin and original purpose, in spite of much ingenuity, remains obscure, occurred widely in this area. Attested by Herodotos (v, 66 and 69) as the ancient subdivisions of the population of Attica and Ionia, they are also mentioned in inscriptions of Delos, Teos, Ephesos, Perinthos (a Samian colony), and Kyzikos and Tomoi, colonies of Miletos. Other tribes, however, occur alongside them in the Samian and Milesian instances and at Ephesos; tribes called the Boreis and Oinopes.<sup>1</sup> All this is consistent with the belief of the ancient writers, that at the time of the migrations Attica, the only part of the mainland to escape conquest, was crowded with refugees and that it was here that many of the colonizing swarms were organized, under the leadership either of princes of the Athenian royal house or of Pylian chieftains, themselves refugees from their country in the South-west Peloponnese.<sup>2</sup> The four tribes will then have been old divisions of the Attic population, and the Boreis and Oinopes will represent the non-Attic refugees.

Within the Ionic area numerous sub-dialects became distinguishable during the home-keeping Dark Age: Attic differs from the Ionic of Euboeia, and within the Asiatic Ionia itself a well-known passage of Herodotos (i, 142, 2-3) mentions four such sub-divisions; one characteristic of Samos, one of Miletos with the neighbouring petty states of Myous and Priene, one of Chios and her mainland neighbour Erythrai (in spite of a neighbourly enmity between them), and one of the northern and central Ionian group, Kolophon, Ephesos, Lebedos, Teos, Klazomenai, and Phokaia.

It was among these Ionians, above all, that the movement began that led to the Greek Renaissance. Their lineage, we have seen, was mixed, and the storm and stress of the age in which the old civilization foundered must have had upon

<sup>1</sup> See Beloch, *G.G.*, I, ii, pp. 97-100. For *Oīwōnes*, cf. *Oīwōlwv*, the legendary founder of Chios (Ion of Chios, ap. Plutarch, *Theseus*, c. 20).

<sup>2</sup> Hdt., loc. cit.; cf. Str. xiv, 682-3, quoting Mimnermos (frag. 12) for the Pylian tradition, which is therefore seventh century—too early for much garbling of tradition by theory to have taken place; and Solon, frag. 4 (*Ar. Ath. Pol.* 5) little if at all later, for Athens as the “most ancient land of Ionia”.

them a strongly selective effect. There resulted, here as in most of the surrounding lands, a stalwart and virile race; among their ancestors only those, in whom the instincts that make for the preservation of self and comrades and family were vigorous, survived. Among them we should attach importance to those Greeks from Attica and Pylos and Boiotia who had known something of the art and the amenities of late Minoan culture, and who yet would rather face the war-like Karians and the life of a pioneer than half-starve in over-crowded Attica, or stay in their old homes as the helots of a barbarian chief. Enthusiasts for "Aryanism" and purity of race should remember, on the other hand, that those very emigrants, "who started from the city hall of Athens and consider themselves the truest-born Ionians, brought no wives with them but took those Karian women whose parents they had killed. (Because of this murder, these women laid down a law and took oaths upon themselves, and handed it down to their daughters, never to sit at meat with their men, nor to call one's husband by name, because they had killed their fathers and husbands and sons, and then took them to wife.) This happened at Miletos."<sup>1</sup> These Karians were not uncivilized either, at any rate before the Ionians drove them into the hills, as we are reminded by Homer's reference to such a luxury-art as the staining of ivory by women of Karia, or Maionia to north of it.<sup>2</sup> Miletos certainly played a part second to no city in the work of the Renaissance, and here began, a generation before other Ionians took it up, that first attempt to apply reason to all things that opens what Lecky called "the European epoch of the human mind".

One must remember also, in considering the Ionian character, that here especially we see the influence of the epic upon religion. Here, if anywhere, one may trace a northern influence on Ionian civilization. Those bold and

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. i, 146. The ban on sitting at meat with one's husband and the taboo against naming him, among these Asiatic Greek women, is of interest, though Herodotus' reason for it is mere ætiological guesswork.

<sup>2</sup> Il. iv, 141.

sometimes impious Achaian chieftains of the *Iliad* are, in their religious attitude, on a level with the medieval Norsemen among whom “the Godless” was a surname not unknown. Nor is impiety always punished; “Father Zeus, thou art the most evil of all gods!” cries Menelaos when his sword breaks off short upon the helmet of Paris<sup>1</sup>; but so far from being struck down by a thunderbolt on the spot, he retains the divine favour and is destined even to escape death and be translated to the Happy Isles, for fair-tressed Helen’s sake.<sup>2</sup> “The best of omens is to fight for one’s country,” snaps Hektor to the cautious Polydamas<sup>3</sup>; and if the result this time is ultimately disaster, the disaster is not so immediate as to point a moral, and Homer’s sympathies are obviously with the brave rather than with the prudent. As we have said, it is impossible to apportion the credit as between the Ionian poet and those Aryan chiefs who set the tone for the ancestors of the Ionian race, and taught men in a troubled age to rely on their own hands; but even if most of the credit for the greatness of the Greek epic belongs to one man, Homer, living in the ninth century, still a share of it is due to his audience, and to the heredity and social environment that produced both audience and poet. If Archilochos and Hipponax allude respectfully to such feasts as the Thesmophoria<sup>4</sup> and Thargelia,<sup>5</sup> matters in which Homer displays no interest, still the general attitude of the Ionian poets towards the received religion is what might be expected of Homer’s successors—the successors of the poet whose gods have all the weaknesses of anthropomorphism, and whose chief religious rite is the cheerful and simple Greek sacrifice, the sharing with the deity of a meal.

The Ionians had an advantage over their cousins west of the Aegean in that they lay nearer to the eastern lands which, though not unaffected by the migrations, had preserved a higher level of material civilization. Nevertheless there must have been a time at first, about the tenth century, when for sheer discouragement—the sense of loss that is

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* iii, 365.

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* iv, 561 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Il.* xii, 248.

<sup>4</sup> Frag. 119, Diehl (from A.’s *Iobakchoi*).

<sup>5</sup> Frag. 40, Diehl.

reflected in Hesiod's tale of the decadence from the Golden to the Iron Age—the settlers could do little but till their fields, keep a look-out against the natives whose land they had taken, and preserve their traditional epics—the literature of the “good old days”. Then, in the later part of the Dark Age, with increasing numbers and feeling of strength and security, come peaceful as well as hostile contacts with the interior, and the introduction from the east of many things characteristic of historic Ionian civilization; among others, our alphabet, which was well-established, even west of the Aegean, before the end of the ninth century.<sup>1</sup>

The Phoenician claim to have invented this (based, it may well be, on the Minoan linear script) has been much strengthened now that the earliest known document in that alphabet is no longer the Moabite Stone but the Sarcophagus of Ahiram of Byblos, centuries earlier. One is reminded of Zakar-Baal, the able and sharp-tongued king of that city, in the report of Wen-Amon of Egypt in the twelfth century, consulting his father's account books without the aid of a professional scribe, such as we might expect a king to require if he were dealing with hieroglyphics or some other cumbersome syllabary. Even this, however, might have come to Ionia from inland; Hogarth was confident that the alphabetic script found on “several Sangarius monuments and some Cappadocian” was earlier there in Phrygia than on the coast.<sup>2</sup> But the point that seems decisive is the regular designation of the alphabet as “the Phoenician letters”. More, the word *Phoinikeia* actually meant “letters”, without the addition of a noun,<sup>3</sup> and the names Aleph, Beth, etc., are Semitic.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. its use in an inscription on an early Dipylon Vase (Diehl, *Frag. Eleg. Adespota*, No. 12; Kalmka, in *Klio*, xvii, 267 ff.; *I.G.* i, suppl. fasc. 2, 492a, etc.) *HOΣ NYΝ 'ΟΡΧΕΣΤΟΝ ΠΑΝΤΟΝ 'ΑΤΑΛΟΤΑΤΑ ΠΑΙΖΕΙ ΤΟΤΟΝ 'ΕΚΑΥΜΕΝ (-ην);* also the Hymettos sherds, and three from Corinth. Cf. the articles of Rhys Carpenter, A. N. Stillwell, C. W. Blegen, J. P. Harland, and B. L. Ullman, in *A.J.A.*, xxxvii, xxxviii: summary by Tod, in *J.H.S.* iv, pp. 176 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ionia and the East*, p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> e.g., the early fifth-century inscription of Teos, Dittenberger<sup>3</sup>, 37–8 Tod, 22.

It is here, if anywhere, that we see the influence of those Phœnician traders who appear everywhere in Homer; not pirates, indeed—the Canaanite sailors, unlike the Achaians, preferred business to fighting—but not above a little kidnapping if opportunity offered<sup>1</sup>; pedlars of trinkets, and fishers of the shell-fish from which they made the famous Tyrian purple, at the island of Kythera<sup>2</sup> off Cape Malea and perhaps also on the “Crimson Beaches” of Ionian Erythrai.

Herodotos’ picture of these sailors at work is an imaginary picture it is true (a rationalization of an old Aegean myth), but the work of a man who knew his Phœnicians and what might happen to a girl who talked too confidingly to sailors on the shore :—

“ Settled in their present habitations they at once began to voyage far over sea, and as carriers of Egyptian and Assyrian cargoes visited many lands, and among others Argos. Here they arrived and spread out their cargo.

“ Now on the fifth or sixth day after their arrival, when they had sold nearly everything, there came down to the sea a number of women, including the king’s daughter, Io. They stood round the stern of the ship bargaining for any of the merchandise that pleased them; and the Phœnicians suddenly shouted to each other and made a rush for them. Most of the women got away, but Io and others were caught; and the Phœnicians flung them into the ship and departed over sea in the direction of Egypt.”

First trade, then “having sold nearly everything” a good catch of young slaves. The only drawback from a business point of view was that after that one could hardly visit Argos again.

Longer and still more vivid contemporary pictures of the Phœnicians at work are those in the *Odyssey*, in the Swine-herd’s story and Odysseus’ story of the Sea-Raider.<sup>3</sup>

The Greeks went so far as to credit the Phœnicians with having introduced into Boiotia most of the arts of civilization, which after the archæological work of the last sixty years are

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hdt. i, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. i, 105.

<sup>3</sup> Od. xiv, 287 ff.; xv, 415 ff.

now recognized to have been introduced from the south-east oversea indeed, but by Minoan Cretans, long before Phœnicians took to the sea at all. The word Phoinikes, Red Men, indeed, as Myres has pointed out, need not originally have signified Canaanites at all, but would apply equally well to any bronzed southern seafarer. But the legend of Kadmos is one of those which show how much of the old history of the Aegean the Greeks had entirely lost in the course of the Dark Age. (So too for them Minos, the priest-king of Crete, has become simply an early Greek, and even, in fact, of Dorian extraction.<sup>1)</sup> Still, the Melikertes of Corinth in whose honour Sisyphos is said to have founded the Isthmia, does seem to be Melkarth, the "Tyrian Herakles", though the similarity of name alone would not prove it. He is a sea-spirit and a helper of sailors, and is said as an infant to have been plunged by his mother Ino, in madness sent by the jealousy of a goddess, into a boiling caldron over the fire.<sup>2</sup> This looks like ætiological myth to explain the gruesome fact that Melikertes was worshipped with sacrifice of children. This apparently still went on at Tenedos, his other stronghold, even in historic times<sup>3</sup>—a thoroughly Phœnician trait. Palaimon, however, who was identified with Melikertes, is a Minoan hero; witness his double-axe, which figures both in his legend<sup>4</sup> and on the coins of Tenedos.

Nevertheless, not only is there no trace of Levantine influence on the art of Ionia before about 700 B.C.—the end of the Dark Age—but even the Greeks of Cyprus lived in a separate world of their own, with hardly a trace of contact, before the late eighth century, with Ionia or even with Rhodes.

Ionia faced the land, and was influenced not by the second-hand Egypto-Assyrian art of Phœnicia, but by the far more original and creative culture of Anatolia. A mixed half-Asian breed as the Ionians were, it was on an Asian basis that they began to build up anew their civilization. They adopted and Hellenized the Asian Archer-God and Mother-Goddess or Queen of the Beasts—Apollo of Klaros near Kolophon or

<sup>1</sup> D.S. iv, 60.

<sup>2</sup> Apollod. iii, 4, 8, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Lykophron, *Alexandra*, 229, and *E.*

<sup>4</sup> Paus. ix, 14, 2.

Branchidai near Miletos, and Artemis of the Ephesians. They evolved the "Ionic" architectural style, with its volute pillar-capitals, a kind of ornament known in Cilicia in the eighth century B.C., and to the Hittites of Anatolia perhaps still earlier.<sup>1</sup> And they made great advances in the art of war, here also under Asian influence, abandoning the traditional Homeric tactics (common to most of the barbarians of Europe), of fighting in hordes of skirmishers, hurling javelins, and then assaulting with the sword, in favour of a new method, made possible by improved metallurgy (more bronze shields and corselets), and psychologically better adapted to men who were no "heroes" but sturdy burghers, defending their home fields. These were the tactics of the phalanx of pikemen, shoulder to shoulder, long invincible in the shock of battle front to front on even ground by troops of any other type; the tactics invented again in the European Middle Ages by Flemish townsmen and lowland Scots and proved against the chivalry of France and England on such fields of battle as Bannockburn and Courtrai. Our earliest pictures of the Greek phalanx in action are those on the often exquisitely painted "proto-Corinthian" pottery of the seventh century, but in Asia the type of armament is much older. A ninth century Hittite relief shows a file of ten palpable hoplites, with crested helmet, round shield, and heavy 6-ft. spear.<sup>2</sup> The helmet and shield reappear on Phrygian reliefs in the following century,<sup>3</sup> and the helmet is "as worn" by the Urartian enemies of Assyria in the Armenian mountains, on the British Museum's bronze gates of Shalmaneser.

<sup>1</sup> The earliest known Greek volute-capitals are actually Aiolic; from Neandria in the Troad, and from Lesbos. Some early Ionic buildings seem not to have had Ionic capitals, e.g. the Ionian treasuries at Delphoi; the volutes occur, however, in the sixth-century temples of Apollo at Naukratis and of Artemis at Ephesos. See D. S. Robertson, in *C.A.H.* iv, 607 ff. For Oriental antecedents, see Puchstein, *Die Ionische Säule*; L. W. King, in *J.H.S.* xxx; Layard's *Nineveh*, Plates 36 and 40 (Ionic pilasters of window-frames at Illubru, near Tarsus (sacked by the Assyrians in 696)).

<sup>2</sup> Hogarth's *Carchemish*, Plate 2b; cf. his *Kings of the Hittites*, p. 39, fig. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Hogarth, *Ionia and the East*, p. 73; Perrot and Chipiez, book vii, § 6, fig. 117.

The same familiar "Greek" type of crest appears again as an ornament on the head of a Hittite chariot-horse on a relief from Carchemish.<sup>1</sup> The Greeks called many details of this armament "Karian"; Karians were doughty fighters, and Herodotos<sup>2</sup> credits them with the invention of the new type of plume (the "Karian plume" of Alkaios<sup>3</sup>), the painting of blazons on shields (bull's head, lion's head, Gorgon face, etc., as we see on the vases) and an improved type of shield-grip (which Anakreon<sup>4</sup> mentioned), replacing the old shield-strap passing over the shoulder. The phalanx formation goes back in Asia to the fourth millennium, appearing on the Sumerian "Vulture-Stele."

The hoplite ornament and tactics prevailed only gradually among the more backward western Greeks. Some lines of Tyrtaios,<sup>5</sup> towards the end of the seventh century, seem to indicate that the Spartans in the second Messenian War had not yet adopted the phalanx formation; though their ivories show that they had adopted the hoplite armour well before the end of the Dark Age. The light-armed troops are bidden to hurl their spears and stones "standing near" the armoured men, and perhaps sheltering under their shields, like Teukros in the *Iliad* (viii, 266 ff.). Whether that is what he means would be clear enough to the poet's original audience. If it is, the phalanx clearly is impossible.

In Aitolia even in the fifth century hoplites were unknown,<sup>6</sup> and indeed, as the invading Athenians found, the heavy-armed man had his limitations when it came to skirmishing warfare among the stones and scrub of that country's ridges and gullies; and in Achaia—whatever qualification the statement may require—we are assured that until the army was reorganized by Philopoimen, late in the third century, javelins and the oblong shield formed the national armament.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hogarth, *Kings of the Hittites*, fig. 34.

<sup>2</sup> i, 171.

<sup>3</sup> Frag. 58 (ap. Str. xiv, p. 661).

<sup>4</sup> Frag. 82 (ap. Str. loc. cit.).

<sup>5</sup> Frag. i, 85 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Thk. iii, 94.

<sup>7</sup> Paus. viii, 50, 1. Possibly some such fact also underlies the extraordinary statement of Ephoros that the Eleians οὐκ ἀχού ὅπλα in the time of Pheidon's invasion; by which he understands them to have been a wholly peaceful and "sacred" people, guardians of the shrine at Olympia; but his source very probably used ὅπλα in the sense of the hoplite shield. Eph. frag. 15, in Str. viii, p. 358.

Phrygians and other Aryan tribes of Asia Minor are also described as lightly armed, with sword, spear, and javelins, in 480 b.c. (Hdt., vii, 72-3).

(Rome, it may be noticed by the way, reversed this development ; in the earliest stage of her history of which we hear, about the beginning of the fifth century, her army is a phalanx of infantry, the richer citizens being expected to provide themselves with the full Greek panoply and fight in the front ranks.<sup>1</sup> Some ivories found in Central Italy, and Etruscan art uniformly, show the "hoplite" armament ; which, in view of the eastern antecedents of the Etruscans, from whom Rome will have adopted this armament, is not surprising. The Roman legionary of the Punic wars, however, with his flexible laminated "lobster" body armour and his helmet crowned with a circlet of feathers",<sup>2</sup> has achieved an astonishing resemblance to a still earlier type of warrior —the Philistine sea-raiders who threatened Egypt about 1200 b.c. Whether it is pure coincidence we cannot tell, but as the sacred ceremonial *ancilia*, "the shield that fell from heaven" and its mates, also preserve an old Aegean shape (the "figure 8"), one is inclined to suspect a connection that we cannot explain.

Meanwhile the legionary had also been equipped with javelins once more, adopted probably from the Samnites, a thoroughly European people who had not come under eastern influence ; the thrusting spear finally drops out of use ; and with their large, light but serviceable, wooden shield,<sup>3</sup> and their improved and specialized sword, pilum, and body-armour, the legions at last prove inferior indeed in frontal attack but vastly superior in the changes and chances of battle to the Macedonian phalanx, the logical final development of the Greek hoplite.)

One detail of armament forms a perhaps unnoticed link between Etruria and Asia Minor. The warrior in Greek panoply on a sixth century terra-cotta akroterion from the "Fallen Rocks" temple at Falerii<sup>4</sup> is fighting with a short,

<sup>1</sup> Livy viii, 8.      <sup>2</sup> Polyb. vi, 28.

<sup>3</sup> See description in Polyb. vi, 22.

<sup>4</sup> Villa Giulia Museum, Rome ; della Seta, *Italia Antica*, fig. 220.

unpleasant-looking, curved sword, identical in form with the *drepanon*, the “reaping-hook” as Greek military humour called it, of southern Anatolia,<sup>1</sup> depicted for us in a painted bas-relief, showing once more a warrior in panoply like the Greek, that was seen by Texier built into the southern wall of the city of Koniah.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile also there appeared in the Aegean lands, presumably from some part of the great Euro-Asian steppe, but by what stages we cannot know, the thoroughbred horse, which, if inferior to medieval or modern chargers, still could carry a man at a gallop ; and this also helped to revolutionize the art of war. The Homeric hero perforce drove his ponies two or more abreast (seldom if ever more than two in the older parts of the sagas that Homer used<sup>3</sup>) and clattered along behind them in a light chariot, like Hittites and Egyptians in their old wars, and like the chieftains in out-of-the-way Keltic Britain in Cæsar’s and even in Agricola’s time. But by the ninth century Assyrians and Syro-Hittites had become able to employ light cavalry as an auxiliary arm, side by side with chariots<sup>4</sup> ; there had long been interest among the civilized kingdoms in improving the breed,<sup>5</sup> and by the eighth century, both in these regions and

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. vii, 92 (Lykia) ; Lindos Temple Chronicle, No. 24, ed. Blinckenberg, p. 20 (Solymoi near Phaselis).

<sup>2</sup> Texier’s *Asie Mineure*, p. 148, pl. 103 ; Schreiber’s *Atlas of Classical Antiquity*, pl. xxxviii, 3.

<sup>3</sup> The trace-horse Pedasos, in *Il.* xvi, is one exception ; while in the late and anomalous Book viii, 185–6, Hektor drives four abreast.

<sup>4</sup> For this stage, cf. the Syrian coalition of 843 B.C. (including Ahab of Israel) that faced Shalmaneser III at Karkar ; 4,000 chariots, 2,000 horsemen, 63,000 foot. (Ahab, 2,000 chariots, 10,000 foot, but no horsemen.) A generation later the proportions are different : 10,000 foot, 50 horsemen, 10 chariots “left unto” Jehoahaz presumably by a disarmament-clause in the peace treaty inflicted on Israel by Ben-hadad son of Hazael (2 Kings xiii, 7). Cf. Hogarth, *Kings of the Hittites*, figs. 3 (horseman) and 33 (chariot) ; both from Sinjerli. “A force of light cavalry for use with the chariotry seems first to have been introduced into the Assyrian army” under Tukulti-Ninurta (889–4) ; he gets his horses from the north—between Lake Van and the source of the Tigris. (Sidney Smith, *C.A.H.* iii, p. 10.)

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the “elaborate work by Kikkuli of Mitanni on the rearing of horses, especially for racing purposes”—the numerals and technical terms in which, by the way, have Sanskrit and not Iranian or European forms—found among the Boghaz-Keui tablets, and believed to be as early as the fifteenth century B.C. (Sayee, in *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir W. Ramsay*, p. 898).

in Greece, the chariot was disappearing from the battlefield in face of the superior mobility of the ridden horse.<sup>1</sup> In isolated and conservative Cyprus, Greeks still used war-chariots as late as the revolt against Persia, after 500 B.C.<sup>2</sup>; a magnificent terra-cotta model of a four-horsed chariot, from Lokris, is in the National Museum at Athens; it has two horses yoked to the pole and two more in side traces, and carries a warrior (with armed man blazoned on his shield) and charioteer with shield slung behind him; the painting is fairly skilful—perhaps seventh century; and in Euboia the citizens of Eretria recorded in an inscription (hardly before the seventh century, therefore) that they had marched in procession at the feast of Artemis Amarynthia with 3,000 hoplites, 600 horseman, and 60 chariots.<sup>3</sup> Still, in these last two instances one cannot be certain whether, like the cuirasses of the British Life Guards (which have never been worn in battle) the chariots may not have remained confined to ceremonial parades.

North of the Aegean, too, the “great horses” were making their way; the Kimmerioi certainly had them when they poured into Asia at the end of the eighth century, and it may have been from them, rather than from Asia Minor, that their kinsmen the Thracians, and the Greeks of Thessaly, and *their* kinsmen the Paiones<sup>4</sup>—all notable horsemen and horse-breeders—received their thoroughbreds.

There was great and natural enthusiasm among the Greeks for the big, beautiful animals that they had thus acquired, and it expressed itself in every department of social life. Even political constitutions were devised which gave the franchise to every man who could serve the state as a mounted man-at-arms—very reasonable, this, for no

<sup>1</sup> Chariots seem from the sculptures to accompany the later Assyrian armies only in order to provide fairly comfortable transport for the king. So, a set of dado-slabs from N. Syria show a horseman, pikeman, archer, and slinger, but no chariot. Date eighth century? See von Oppenheimer's *Tell Halaf*.

<sup>2</sup> Hdt. v, 118.

<sup>3</sup> Str. x, 448.

<sup>4</sup> Παῖονες ἄνδρας ἄγων, ἵνα τε κλειτὸν γένος ἴππων—Mimnermos, frag. 14.

state was more stably based than that in which the body politic coincided with the main striking force of the army. (Hence, as we saw, many states later extended the franchise to all who could afford hoplite armour, while Athens abolished all property qualifications entirely, for the poorest Athenian could pull his oar in the fleet.) This still further increased everyone's desire to keep a horse if he could ; and from a desire to advertise the fact if your family could afford to keep horses sprang the popularity of "horsy" personal names : Hippanax, Hippokles, Hippokleides, Hipparchos, Hippokrates ; "Xanthippos or Chairippes or Kleippides" to quote the passage where Aristophanes<sup>1</sup> "takes off" this form of harmless snobbery. An amusing by-product of this enthusiasm was a tendency to exaggerate the size of the horse in art. This appears in numerous late Geometric painted vases and terra-cottas (e.g. some from Tanagra, now at Athens) and especially well in the frieze from the archaic temple at Prinias, in the Kandia museum, showing a file of horsemen whose mounts, in proportion to the men, must be 9 or 10 feet high. To find cavalry at all in rocky Crete is quite surprising, but in the excitement of the moment it was introduced,<sup>2</sup> and considered the "guard" corps, the *élite* of the army. Sparta too provided her kings with a mounted life-guard regiment 300 strong ; but, as in some other Greek cavalry forces, these operated only as mounted infantry, fighting in the phalanx with the rest of the army. In the end their horses were discarded altogether, though with Spartan conservatism the name of "knights" was retained.<sup>3</sup>

Hardly anything is known of the international or inter-state politics of Ionia in this age ; only those rare incidents were remembered which affected later titles to land, or left a considerable mark on the political map. We read of how Smyrna, originally the southernmost Aiolic city, was treacherously seized by a dissident minority from Ionian Kolophon, who when expelled from their own state had

<sup>1</sup> *Clouds*, 64.

<sup>2</sup> Str. x, 481-2 (from Ephoros).

<sup>3</sup> Ephoros, loc. cit.

been hospitably received there<sup>1</sup>; so that Smyrna thus became an Ionian town. The Aiolians gathered to besiege it, but are said to have come to terms, and on the surrender of the old inhabitants' movable property accepted the dispossessed as recruits for their own towns. We hear of a city called Melia a little north of Miletos, which somehow aroused the jealousy of all its neighbours and was destroyed by them, *communi consilio*.<sup>2</sup> Its territory was taken by Samos and Priene, and formed a fruitful source of trouble between them for centuries,<sup>3</sup> the small state close at hand holding doggedly on to its share, against the powerful island city a few miles away across the sea. Melia fell "because of its arrogance", we are told; which suggests a vigorous and expanding community which was felt to menace the liberty or existence of neighbouring towns. Its destruction by a coalition will then be the first of many tragic instances in Greek history, in which local particularist patriotism and love of liberty, an emotion in itself so insidiously attractive, not only prevented the development of any but small-scale federal unions but conspired to bring down cities which, because of their very merits, might be tempted to try to play the tyrant and impose union by force.

The most striking thing, indeed, about eastern as well as old Greece is the minute size of many of the states. Even

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. i, 150; cf. Mummersos (frag. 12) who, as a Kolophonian, has the effrontery to write θεῶν βουλῇ Σμύρνην εἰλομένη Αἰολίδα. The story in Strabo (xiv, 633-4), who quotes this fragment, that Ionians of Ephesos first drove the natives from the site of Smyrna, then were driven out by the Aiolians, and "recovered their own territory" by help from Kolophon, looks like a "combination" based on the fact that Ephesos, or a part of it, was called Smyrna in the early days (Kallinos and Hippoanax, ap. Str. loc. cit.). As Smyrna was a native place-name (cf. Myrina—which, like Smyrna, was said to have been the name of an Amazon who colonized the site) its recurrence does not prove colonization of one place from the other.

<sup>2</sup> Vitruvius, iv, 1 (giving the name as Melita); Hekataios, ap. S.B., s.v. *Melita*.

<sup>3</sup> Hiller v. Gärtringen, *Inscr. v. Priene*, No. 87, C.I.G. ii, 2905 (showing the boundary still a subject of litigation and arbitration in the Hellenistic age); C.I.G. ii, 2254 (a decree of the Diadochos Lysimachos) mentions the disputed land as once overrun by Lygdamis—i.e. probably the Kimmerian chief Tugdammi; if so, the Melian disaster is dated, probably before Gyges—c. 700 B.C. or earlier.

natural units like the smaller islands were not always united ; Naxos, Paros, Andros, Chios, were so, and were thereby enabled to play a part in interstate politics in proportion to their area and population ; Samos, originally divided into the two states of Chesia and Astypalaia, achieved unity before her recorded history begins ; the old units were kept as administrative subdivisions.<sup>1</sup> Rhodes, with a total area of only about 600 square miles, remained divided into the three separate sovereign states of Lindos, Kameiros, and Ialysos, until near the end of the fifth century, and Lesbos (about 700 square miles) had originally six—Mytilene, Methymna, Antissa, Pyrrha, Eresos, and Arisba. The Rhodian cities, however, did usually act together in dealing with the outside world, so that long before the foundation of the city of Rhodos in 408, “Rhodians” and “Rhodes” are often mentioned<sup>2</sup> instead of the three cities severally. In Lesbos even common action could not always be secured. Mytilene was indisputably the leading state of the island, but Methymna, which had committed a crime against Greek sentiment in destroying Arisba and selling the inhabitants as slaves, “though they were their own kinsmen,”<sup>3</sup> was, probably as a result, strong enough to keep up a sometimes paralysing opposition.<sup>4</sup> The most brilliant example of particularism in the islands was that of Keos, whose inhabitants succeeded in having four different sovereign states and three different currencies on an island of total area about 65 miles, or something under a quarter the size of Rutland. So too, in Crete, the large size of the island merely gave room for more independent cities—fifty or more in an area of some 3,300 square miles,<sup>5</sup> which fought bitterly among themselves.<sup>6</sup> Likewise on the mainland, the territory occupied by a dozen cities of Aiolis is sufficient

<sup>1</sup> Beloch, I, i, p. 210, n. 2 ; Wiegand and Wilamowitz in *Sitzungsberichte d. Berlin Akad.*, 1904, and inscr. there quoted, p. 919.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. Hdt. ii, 178.

<sup>3</sup> Hdt. i, 151.

<sup>4</sup> Αἴαντες collectively mentioned, e.g. Hdt. iii, 89 ; vi, 14.

<sup>5</sup> Beloch, loc. cit.

<sup>6</sup> e.g. Str. x, p. 479 ; Phaistos, Miletos, and Lykastos destroyed in these wars.

to give them an average territory measuring about nine miles by five. Some must have been much smaller; by far the largest was Kyme, the birthplace of Hesiod's father, a really important city of which we shall hear more.

In Ionia many of the states were larger; and largest of all was the territory of Kolophon, which may be ranked with Kyme as one of the most important cities of eighth-century Greece. Its broad lands on the little river Ales pastured the horses and enriched the riders of a cavalry so terrible that it is said that the mere threat of its intervention had often sufficed to put an end to the most stubborn and protracted wars.<sup>1</sup> Τὸν κολοφῶν' ἐπέθηκε said someone; it looks like a hexameter tag, perhaps in that mock-heroic vein of which there are already traces in the *Odyssey*; and to "pile on Kolophon", the makeweight that for long years turned every scale, became current Ionic slang meaning "put the lid on". We have seen how a discontented overflow of its population seized and held Smyrna, its neighbour to northward across the peninsula that runs out towards Erythrai; and after this episode virtually Kolophonian territory stretched from sea to sea. The city itself lay some few miles inland, but had its port at Notion, near the oracular shrine of Klaros—Νότιον Τεῖχος, "South Fort," must have been its full name—to act as outlet to the sea for the surplus products and energy of this powerful state. When the great colonizing movement began in the early seventh century, the swarms from Kolophon went out alike to north, north-east and west<sup>2</sup>; and if, as at Athens, the seafaring inhabitants of the port did not always see eye to eye with the landed gentry up at "the City",<sup>3</sup> still there can be little doubt

<sup>1</sup> Str. p. 648 (xiv, c. 28, an important paragraph).

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, v, 143 (Myrleia in the Propontis); Aristotle and Timaios, ap. Ath. xii, 523 (Siris in Italy); Thk. v, 2 (Chalkidike) and for K. sea-power, Strabo, l.c. As we thus have separate references to K. colonies on the Propontis and in Italy, the emendation in a well-known text of Thucydides of Κολοφωνίων λυμένα το καρφὸν λυμένα (from Strabo, fr. 32) is a good example of the art of altering a perfectly good reading on *a priori* grounds. Nor can I subscribe to Dr. Beloch's note (I, ii, 238-245) on Siris, where it is argued *inter alia* that K.'s sea-power must be mythical because K. was a few miles inland. So was Athens.

<sup>3</sup> Ar. *Politics*, 1303b.

that Kolophon would have played a part in this movement second to no Greek state, had not a war with the new power of Lydia, arising from its landward interests, involved the city, round about the year 660, in irremediable and unforeseen disaster.

Politically the constitution was of the most liberal type yet devised : the deliberative and legislative body seems to have been an assembly of 1,000,<sup>1</sup> not hereditary, but drawn from the propertied classes, and the property qualification was relatively low. “Every earl who throwe so” that he could provide himself with full armour and a war-horse, ranked as a full citizen<sup>2</sup>; and such was the prosperity of Kolophon in the late eighth and early seventh centuries that actually a majority of the free-born population then reached the coveted standard.<sup>3</sup> Clearly no constitution could have been better calculated than this, with its reward for good farming and possession of the most formidable military equipment, to promote the power and prosperity of the commonwealth.

In their early days the Kolophonians seem to have observed a number of laws or customs—the word *vómos* did not distinguish between the two—of the naively moralizing kind that later writers loved to collect as relics of the good old days.<sup>4</sup> Such was one, still nominally in force in the Hellenistic age, that flute-girls and lyre-girls and makers of all kinds of music might only be paid for entertainment given between sunrise and sunset<sup>5</sup>; and such, presumably, what was at least a social convention, that in mixing wine

<sup>1</sup> See Xenophanes below ; also Θεόπομπος (frag. 129) χιλίους φῆσιν ἄνδρας αὐτῶν ἀλουργεῖς φοροῦντας στολὰς ἀστυπολεῖν (Ath. xii, p. 526c) ; and cf. p. 188, on Kyme.

<sup>2</sup> Ar. *Politics*, iv, 1200b.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.

<sup>4</sup> Ath., loc. cit. (a locus classicus on Kolophon ; muddle-headed, but quoting his sources, *more Atheniensis*), quoting Phylarchos (frag. 62) : τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅντες σκληροὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀγωγαῖς.

<sup>5</sup> Phylarch. ap. Ath., loc. cit. : Νόμον ἔθεντο δις ἔτι καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἦν .. i.e. the inscription was still to be seen at Kolophon ? What follows after the account of the law—“so then they were free to get drunk”—is Ath. at his worst. The point, of course, was to discourage sitting up late.

and water one must always pour in the water first.<sup>1</sup> However, with increasing prosperity came increasing luxury, such as all moralists, especially Greek and Roman, seem to consider a vice in itself. It is clear enough from what they did that the Kolophonians remained a vigorous and high-spirited people, and if they "did themselves well" by contemporary standards, we should find their lives barely comfortable. However, in the ancient world they became a byword for excess,<sup>2</sup> and if the stories about Sybarites on the whole lasted better, this was merely because the pride of Sybaris was more recent history. (This does not alter the fact that some of them were the same stories.<sup>3</sup>) One of their own descendants, the poet-philosopher Xenophanes, writing two centuries later, when all this was a fading memory, pictures their Grand Council of the Thousand assembling, with their scented hair and the crimson cloaks that were a Kolophonian knight's full dress, and roundly sums it up as "learning futile softness from the Lydians", a proceeding to which the loss of freedom was the natural sequel.<sup>4</sup> (Incidentally, the mention of Lydians is probably an anachronism; the caravan-routes of Asia Minor certainly did contribute some refinements to Ionian civilization, but it is not likely that now, before the rise of the Mermnad monarchy, Sardis as compared with Kolophon had much to teach.)

Be that as it may, the men of Kolophon were a fine breed; farmers, soldiers, and sailors as good as any of their age, they also contributed their share to the poetry and music and thought of the Ionian Age. Like everyone else, they were fascinated by Homer's epics and, when his fame was already established, claimed that their city was his

<sup>1</sup> Xenophanes fr. 4 (Ath. xi, 782a) presumably from the same moralizing poem, on K. manners and customs, as the well-known fr. 3 on learning luxury from Lydia.

<sup>2</sup> Theognis, 1103-4; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* i, 20; Ath. xii, loc. cit.; all based on Xenophanes, frag. 3 (there quoted), and on Mimnermos' general reputation, and on the fact that K. did come to grief.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. the story about never seeing the sun rise or set: Phylarchos, loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> Xenophanes, frag. 3, ap. Ath. loc. cit.

birthplace<sup>1</sup>; and like other Ionians they took an active part in the eighth-century epic movement which aimed at "rounding off" that Tale of Troy, of which Homer had given two magnificent fragments, by supplying his poems with a prelude and sequels to show what became of everyone afterwards. No doubt these "cyclic poems" were to some extent based on the less ambitious pre-Homeric metrical sagas which bards had been reciting ever since the Trojan War itself (among much other material in which, under the influence of Homeric enthusiasm, men were now losing interest); but it must have been by direct inspiration of the Muses, i.e. by imagination, that some poet, doubtless a Kolophonian,<sup>2</sup> succeeded in getting his home town into a version of the *Homeward Voyages*, making the prophet Kalchas appropriately visit Klaros, and die there.<sup>3</sup> It is an early example of a tendency that became universal, to adapt or frankly to jettison local legends in order to fit one's local "origins" on to what, purely in virtue of poetic genius, was rapidly becoming the national epic—a tendency that has led to much falsification of tradition, to the despair of the modern would-be historian. In the next century too the Kolophonian colony at Smyrna had its epic bard, Magnes, a dandified and not very creditable person if tradition be believed, who roused some patriotic spite against himself by becoming a courtier and favourite of Gyges of Lydia and forsaking Greek themes to glorify his master's parvenu monarchy. This he did in an account of the valour of the horsemen of Lydia in battle against the Amazons.<sup>4</sup> Kolophonian too was Mimnermos, poet and musician,<sup>5</sup> the sweet singer of the late seventh century, and the great thinker Xenophanes two generations later, and a musician

<sup>1</sup> Str. xiv, 642.

<sup>2</sup> As was believed, perhaps only on the internal evidence, by Eustathios (1796, 45) who alludes to "δ τοὺς Νόστους ποίησας Κολοφώνιος." If this poem was later usually ascribed to Agias of Troizen, it may be only that A. worked over and rewrote it, giving it its final form—just as Homer, with vastly greater genius, probably did to his materials.

<sup>3</sup> This story was old enough to find its way also into the Hesiodic epics of the Boiotian school; Strabo, loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> N.D. frag. 62.

<sup>5</sup> Str. xiv, 643.

named Polymnestos to whom Pindar<sup>1</sup> in his stately dactylo-epitrites has given high praise: *φθέγμα μὲν πάγκονον ἔγνωκας Πολυμνάστου, Κολοφωνίου ἀνδρός*—the voice of Kolophonian Polymnestos, a possession of all mankind.

Only less powerful than Kolophon, if duller and less cultured, was Magnesia, some thirty miles away, in the plain of the Maiandros, the river that “meanders” westward through its alluvial swamps and meadows from the Phrygian mountains to the Aegean at Priene. The Magnetes too were an opulent people, breeders of horses “like the Kolophonians”,<sup>2</sup> and proud and confident as they.<sup>3</sup> They also made horsemanship the price of citizenship<sup>4</sup>; and a late writer<sup>5</sup> tells of their battle array in war with Ephesos, their next neighbour on the side towards Kolophon. Each Magnesian knight brought with him a light-armed servant equipped with javelins and a hunting hound,<sup>6</sup> perhaps of the formidable mastiff breed that we know the Assyrians had. The new-fangled masses of armoured infantry they apparently despised. The theory must have been that the hounds and javelins shook and loosened the enemy’s phalanx and the knights delivered the decisive charge<sup>7</sup>; and it seems to have been effective. At least, almost the only fact that we hear about their external relations is that in their Ephesian war the advantage lay with them.<sup>8</sup>

The territory of Ephesos lay between Magnesia (which, exceptionally among Ionian towns, was ten miles inland) and the sea, and as the date of this war is as late as the time of Kallinos, when the colonizing movement was beginning, it may be that desire for a “window” and not

<sup>1</sup> In Strabo, ib.

<sup>2</sup> Herakleides Pontikos, frag. 22.

<sup>3</sup> Theognis, 1103, cf. 603.

<sup>4</sup> Ar. *Politics*, iv, 1289b.

<sup>5</sup> Aelian, xiv, 46.

<sup>6</sup> The use of war-dogs in this age is well attested; cf. the seventh century sarcophagi of Klazomenai in the B.M.; and the epitaph of Hippaimon of Magnesia and his dog (*A.P.* vii, 304, ascribed to Peisandros of Rhodes, fl.c. 640) on which cf. Pollux, v, 46, δέ Μάγνης κύων; and Polyainos, vii, 1.

<sup>7</sup> For shock tactics by early Asian cavalry, cf. Hdt. on the Lydians, i, 79; though the lack of stirrups must have seriously limited their efficiency.

<sup>8</sup> Str. xiv, 647, quoting Kallinos. Athenaios' ἔάλωσαν ὑπὸ Φέοσιων [οἱ Μ.], xii, p. 525, as it conflicts with the explicit remarks of a more respectable writer, Strabo, is presumably a mere inference, and should be disregarded.

only ordinary border-disputes gave rise to it. Certainly it is at Ephesos that we find our best material for forming some idea of the external relations of Ionia in the Dark Age—if only for lack of thorough exploration of a first-class site elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> Of the finds at this site, the most famous are the tinted ivories, reminding one of Homer's reference to this art as practised by "Maionian or Karian women"; and these ivories show unmistakably a kinship in style to others found and in all probability produced on the one hand at Sparta, in the heart of the Peloponnese, and on the other at Nimrud in Assyria.

The fact, however familiar to experts by this time, is sufficiently startling, and indeed raises some problems not yet decided. Ivory-carving was certainly being practised by many local schools, which to some extent influenced one another, in the eastern Mediterranean, in the early centuries of the last millennium B.C.; for instance in Cyprus, where the art dates from before 1100, and lasts into the long and bright Minoan twilight which the island enjoyed; in Phoenicia, where the local art was a tasteless commercial blend of Assyrian, Egyptian (on the whole, dominant), and a tinge of Aegean probably derived from Cyprus; at Sparta, where a good local school seems to have arisen under the inspiration of imported work, and where the finest examples from a well-stratified site are dated by their discoverer before 800, and at Ephesos, where Hogarth dated his find a full century later; in Egypt, under the Twenty-first Dynasty; at Samaria under Omri and Ahab, where Egyptian influence is dominant; and in Assyria, about the same time (ninth century). In some pieces from Syria and Cyprus, notably a group recently discovered at Arslan Tash, the ancient Phoenician Gebal or Byblos, an unknown influence seems to be present, neither Assyrian nor Egyptian, which, it is suggested, can hardly be that of the provincial and "insular" Cyprus and comes very probably from Cilicia, which then extended north as

<sup>1</sup> Miletos is scarcely a first-class site in the early days; the excavators commented on its enormous expansion in the seventh century—i.e. its fortunes were made on the sea, not on land.

well as south of the Taurus ; a region still unexplored, but known from Assyrian and earlier Egyptian references to have been prosperous and civilized, and a region where Aegean and Anatolian influence met and crossed.

The filling in of the gaps in all this, and the working out of a more than tentative chronology, are yet to do ; but on the Greek finds it can be said with certainty that the foreign influence that must be postulated is not Phoenician ; Greeks apparently had too much taste to take that stuff, even if ivory came over in Phoenician ships to be worked on the spot. The common influence at Sparta, Ephesos, and Nimrud is therefore probably Anatolian, and the finest products of this early branch of Greek art date certainly to the latter part of the Dark Age, whatever the exact dates may be—whether the finest examples should be placed before the beginning of the eighth century or near its end.

An interesting by-product of this communication between ninth and eighth century Ephesos and Sparta (and perhaps other parts of Ionia and the Peloponnes) was its effect on local fashions in brooches. Found in early Iron-Age burials in Illyria and far into central Europe is the type known as the “spectacle-fibula”, in which two flat spirals of wire, originally formed in order to give the safety-pin a strong spring at each end, have become exaggerated and are used as decorative motifs. Brooches also occur with four spirals, or six. The type came into Greece presumably with early Iron-Age invaders from the north-west, and accordingly it is not surprising to find that it was the national style of brooch for men and women at Sparta.<sup>1</sup> (It would not, however, be correct to describe it as the national style of Dorians generally ; similar brooches are found throughout Greece. They certainly are common in parts of the conquest area of central Greece where a quasi-Dorian dialect was spoken—Phokis, Boiotia, Lokris. Several have also been

<sup>1</sup> All that follows, from Blinkenberg, *Fibules Grecques et Orientales*. It is not possible to give page-references, since the material is there arranged on a typological scheme, and must be extracted and re-grouped geographically for our purpose.

found at Sybaris and elsewhere in the Doric-speaking Achaian region of south Italy. But everywhere local types are far more numerous.<sup>1</sup> The only places, in fact, where the Spartan fibula predominates are in "aboriginal" Arkadia, where, of some twenty-four fibulae found at Tegea and Lusi, thirteen are of spiral types. So much more important were local than tribal relations in the home-keeping Geometric age, the age in which most of the various local styles of Greek brooch developed out of the simple Late-Bronze Age safety-pin.)

But there came into fashion a derivative type in which the pin was concealed by a plaque of ivory (or bone or metal), imitating the "spectacle" shape of the old Spartan brooch exactly as the early motor car imitated the horse-carriage. And the distribution of this product of, on the average, a later period, is interesting. It is common at Sparta, but not so common as the original wire type; and occurs sporadically in the same parts of the mainland—but again, not so commonly as the old wire type. But it also occurs at Ephesos, where the wire spectacle-brooch does not occur at all, and actually accounts for twenty out of ninety-nine classifiable fibulae found on the site—many of them buried as foundation-deposits under the early temple of Artemis. (Of the remainder, fifty were of the type dominant on the Asian mainland and twenty-nine of the type dominant in the islands.) And on the way from Ephesos to Sparta, actually about half of the twenty-odd fibulae found on the island of Paros are of this type, while on Delos at least twenty-five of this type have been found (including fragments) and only six of any other kind.

The "Spartan brooch" in ivory evidently then enjoyed great prestige—all the more clearly for the fact that no less

<sup>1</sup> At Argos (among Dorian states) out of thirty-two finds of fibulae (some of which included several fibulae in one group) only six were of spiral type, or the derivative type in ivory; at Aigina, out of twenty of mature types, not one; at Rhodes, twenty-two, out of the enormous deposit dedicated at the temple of Athene of Lindos—about 2·75 per cent; and even at Thera, which was by way of being a Spartan colony, only three (none being of the ivory derivative type) out of about eighteen; island types (as at Rhodes) predominating.

than fourteen out of some thirty-two found buried in the foundations of the great temple at Ephesos were of this material and shape.

If we know little of the foreign relations of the Asian Greeks at this time, we do know something of their constitutional development, thanks chiefly to the great work of Aristotle and his pupils in compiling outlines of the constitutional history of over 150 states, Greek and barbarian, as raw material for the great man's work on political science ; also to the possibility, in this field, of inferring back from survivals of archaic institutions in historic times—the method of *rückschlüssen*.

Kings in most states disappear early, or are reduced to figureheads with purely religious and ceremonial importance. Thus at Ephesos the House of Androklos still kept the title of king under the Roman empire, and therewith the sceptre and royal robe and priesthood of Demeter of Eleusis.<sup>1</sup> This long-lasting prestige was said to be due to the great position of their founder, Androklos, who had led the invasion of Ionia and alone among the conquistadores was descended in the legitimate male line from the ancient Athenian kings.<sup>2</sup> Other cities in which kings retained some political importance into the historic period—i.e. the seventh century, when, with the popularization of writing, inscriptions began to come into fashion—were Samos, where King Amphikrates commands the fleet in an early war with Aigina,<sup>3</sup> and Aiolic Kyme (see below, pp. 180).

In Samos the oligarchy that succeeds the monarchy consists of Geomoroi, Landowners<sup>3</sup> ; at least we hear of no intermediate stage ; and at Kyme the reduction of the monarchy to a shadow seems to have been accompanied by the introduction of the “equestrian franchise” and Grand Council of a Thousand which we have already seen to be characteristic of Kolophon round about the year 700. These timocratic constitutions with property qualifications were clearly a great advance on the rigid oligarchies of birth that

<sup>1</sup> Str. xiv, 683.

<sup>2</sup> Ib. 682, quoting Pherekydes.

<sup>3</sup> Hdt. iii, 159.

we shall find still surviving in many other states, and it is probably no accident that these states where the kings retained political importance so long also achieved a democratic constitution so soon. Human institutions, naturally and notoriously, do not usually pass away until the fact that they have outlived their usefulness has become obvious to a body of people numerous and powerful enough to overcome the resistance of those who are or think they are interested in maintaining the *status quo*. That is to say, social changes are not usually brought to pass until, ideally speaking, they are long overdue. In this case the cities where monarchy lasted into the seventh century achieved, when it fell, an up-to-date seventh century constitution ; while elsewhere, as at Ephesos and Erythrai, all power remained in the jealous if far from incompetent hands of the Basilidai, the families or groups of families descended from the early kings ; a legacy of further trouble before the end of the century.<sup>1</sup> Examples from modern history are not far to seek.

Concerning the fall of the monarchy at Miletos, there is a curious legend.<sup>2</sup> Leodamas, last of the Neleid kings, was murdered by a certain Amphitres, and his sons with their supporter the baron or vassal prince of Assesos were besieged in Assesos and hard pressed by Amphitres and his men. They are delivered by two young Phrygians named Tottes and Onnes, who arrive by night with certain *ἱερὰ*—sacred objects—fetishes, in fact, of the spirits called the Kabeiroi, in a box, and who exhort the defenders to worship the Kabeiroi in future, and to make a vigorous sortie with this sacred Ark in front of them. Fighting with renewed hope and courage they do so, and rout and kill Amphitres—but the Neleids do not thus regain their throne. Instead a dictator, an *aisymnetes*, named Epimenes, is appointed, with powers of life and death. He executes three of the murderers of Leodamas and banishes the rest ; fails to catch

<sup>1</sup> At Erythrai a second revolution (in spite of good government by the Basilidai) leads to a more liberal constitution (Ar. *Politics*, 1305b) ; at Ephesos, to a tyranny under the commercially-minded house of Pythagoras, who seized power about 660. (Suidas, s.v. *Πυθαγόρας*.)

<sup>2</sup> N.D. fr. 54.

Amphitres' children, but confiscates their property and puts a price on their heads.

From Aristotle's *Politics* (v, 1305a) we hear that in Epimenes' constitution the chief authority was that of an elected president, or Prytanis, who must have held, for a term of several years at least, most of the powers of the deposed kings. This simple and obvious arrangement—one trusted and leading citizen elected with wide powers for a long period—was popular among the Ionian cities at this stage<sup>1</sup> and obviously secured a strong executive; but it fell into disrepute in the end, for the reason that so many of these Prytanes were not proof against the temptations of power. It happened in the end at Miletos, as at many other cities, that a Prytanis finding himself possessed of "many great powers" fell to the temptation to free himself from all trammels of law, and embark on the attempt to keep his position for life, by force.<sup>2</sup> Hence in later Greek history the tendency to shorten terms of office and to put the chief offices into commission. A logical conclusion is the late fifth-century constitution of Syracuse, where the executive is a cabinet of fifteen "generals" (presumably on the principle that there is safety in numbers) paralysed in action by the necessity of justifying their every movement before a turbulent and jealous assembly.<sup>3</sup>

The legend of the fall of the Milesian monarchy is as obscure as an isolated "excerpt", lacking its context and dealing with events about which otherwise we know nothing, might be expected to be. We may infer, however, that Amphitres the murderer is a would-be usurper, and probably himself a Neleid, the head of a rival branch of the family; this would supply a reason for the particularly fierce persecution of his family after his own death. The immediate cause of the establishment of the republic is, then, that the people are tired of having their city rent by the dynastic squabbles of the royal house.

<sup>1</sup> Ar. op. cit., 1310b.

<sup>2</sup> ἐκ τίμης οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἰωνίαν τύραννοι κατέστησαν—loc. cit.; πολλῶν γὰρ ήν καὶ μεγάλων κύριος ὁ πρύτανις (at Miletos), ib. 1305a.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the debates in the Syracusan assembly in Thk. vi.

The episode of the Kabeiroi is as mysterious as nearly everything concerning them—these dwarfish culture-dæmons, smiths and miners apparently,<sup>1</sup> like the dwarfs of German mythology, worshipped with secret “mysteries” at backward and “Pelasgian” Samothrace<sup>2</sup> and, in a subordinate position to the Olympian gods, in many parts of Greece.<sup>3</sup> This part of the story is probably a “sacred legend” telling how the Kabeiroi became established in Miletos, and linking the event, whether with any justification we cannot possibly tell, with an important crisis in Milesian history. They obviously belong, as Herodotos explicitly says, to a pre-Olympian stratum in Greek religion. That they should possess fetishes concealed in an Ark, like the “sacred things” of Israel, is not surprising; and it is worth remarking that in this story their two priests are given good Anatolian names.<sup>4</sup>

While Kyme and Kolophon broadened the basis of their constitutions, in Dorian Knidos a narrow and archaic type of state lasted long enough to become a curiosity and so to become known to us; namely an aristocratic oligarchy of birth in which not even all adult males of the noble families were admitted to the government. “For instance if a father (held the franchise) his son might not, nor if there were several brothers might they all, but only the eldest.”<sup>5</sup> In short it was an aristocracy of heads of families—a House of Lords. To us the principle is familiar, but to the Greeks of the great age so arbitrary a method of selecting one’s

<sup>1</sup> Hence they are connected with Hephaistos and Hermes. As Strabo points out in his full and sensible note (x, pp. 467–473) on some byways of Greek religion, they obviously express the same idea as the Cretan and Rhodian Telchines and Idaian Daktyls. For their dwarfish shape, see Hdt. iii, 37.

<sup>2</sup> Hdt. ii, 51. Sayce, in *J.H.S.* xlv, suggests a Hittite origin for them, comparing the name Kasmilos (Strabo, x, 472: MSS. κάμιλος) by which the first of them is invoked in an inscription from Imbros with that of Khasamilis, a deified early Hittite king, and Kabeiroi with Khabiriyas, a Hittite regiment.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Paus. ix, 25, 6, 7, and Frazer’s commentary.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Mennes (N.D. frag. 53), Tennes (Hekataios, frag. 139); Tos (Totos), Teatthes, W. M. Ramsay, *Asianic Elements in Greek Civilisation*, pp. 133, 145, 187.

<sup>5</sup> Ar. *Politics*, v, 1305b.

governors—a method which actually excluded a younger son of a noble family, however valuable his abilities might be, merely because his elder brother held the seat—seemed scarcely intelligible, and Aristotle mentions it, in the passage quoted, as a curiosity of polities which ultimately led to revolution.

From among the grand council of heads of the privileged families was chosen an executive Council of Sixty, which conducted the administration and on important and critical questions acted as a committee of the Grand Council.<sup>1</sup> These sixty held office for life and were called by the curious name of Amnemones, which at least appears to mean “the Unremembering”. Plutarch suggests that it might mean “Irresponsible”, since they could not be called to account. A pleasing modern suggestion is that it might be properly Am-mnemones, from ἀνα-μνηνήσκω, and so equals *monitores*.<sup>2</sup> Their chairman was called the Aphester, another obscure and archaic term, perhaps from ἀφίστημι “I make to depart”, alluding to this official’s chief function, which was to take divisions of the house; with which may well have gone the power to close debate and decide “that the question be now put”.<sup>3</sup>

In Aiolis, on the opposite border of Ionia, Kyme is at this date by far the most interesting and precocious of the cities founded, so tradition said, by princes of the House of Atreus as a sequel of the Trojan War. “For they say that the Aiolic movement was four generations earlier than the Ionic but met with more delays and took longer. Orestes initiated the expedition. But as he died in Arkadia his son Penthilos inherited it and advanced as far as Thrace, sixty years after the Trojan War, just at the time of the Return

<sup>1</sup> ἔξήκοντα προκρίτοις ἐκ τῶν δρόστων οἷον ἐπισκόποις ἔχρωντο καὶ προβούλοις τῶν μεγίστων.—Plut., *Greek Questions*, ii.

<sup>2</sup> H. J. Rose, in Halliday’s commentary on Plutarch, op. cit., p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. ἀποστατήρες, apparently alluding to the Spartan kings’ and senators’ power to dismiss the assembly “if the people choose crookedly”; Theopompos’ Rider to the famous Rhetra of Lykourgos, in Plut. *Lykourgos*, 3. Cf. Halliday, loc. cit., Knidos was said to be a Spartan colony.

of the Herakleids to the Peloponnese. Then Archelaos his son brought the Aiolic expedition across into what is now Kyzikene territory round Daskylion ; and Gras, *his* youngest son, advanced to the river Granikos, and being better prepared transferred most of his force across to Lesbos and seized it.

“ And Kleues, the son of Doros (!), and Malaos, who were also descended from Agamemnon, collected their army, about the same time as Penthilos, but Penthilos’ expedition was first to cross from Thrace into Asia, while the others spent a long time in the region of Lokris and Mount Phrikion. Then they crossed over and founded Kyme which is called Phrikonia after the mountain in Lokris.”<sup>1</sup>

Thus Strabo. The composite and artificial nature of the tradition is obvious, with its numerous founders all worked into one story and duly hooked on to the family of the Achaian conqueror of Troy, and with its expeditions planned in the generation following that conquest and then taking a hundred years to get across the Aegean or to walk round it.

The facts from which the systematizer of this tradition, whoever he was, must have started, presumably include the four names, Penthilos, Gras, Kleues, Malaos, and a tradition that the founders of Aiolis came from central Greece by sea and—more unexpected—partly from or, as the chroniclers preferred to say, *through* Thrace. Penthilos almost certainly is a historical “ first settler ” or conquistador, being the eponymous founder of several if not all of the great houses of Mitylene<sup>2</sup>; and of the other three, Kleues at any rate bears a name current in Lesbos later—it appears, in the feminine, Kleuis, as the name of Sappho’s baby.<sup>3</sup> That he was “ son of Doros ” perhaps indicates a contingent from the Dorians of central Greece in the doubtless very mixed body of the settlers. The descent from Agamemnon *may* of course in the existing state of our ignorance be historical,

<sup>1</sup> Str. xiii, 582.

<sup>2</sup> Alkaios, frag. 43, 6; frag. 48, 9; Ar. *Politics*, v, 1310.

<sup>3</sup> Sappho, frag. 152.

but is probably the product of ninth and eighth century Homeric enthusiasm. Homer was read or rather heard in Lesbos with avidity, as may be seen from the fact that Lesches the Lesbian, reputed author of the *Little Iliad*, was second in fame only to Arktinos of Miletos among the composers of sequels to the great epics. Strabo's authority would clearly have liked to bring Orestes himself over in command of the expedition, but is deterred by the fact that he has read in Herodotos that the Spartans with the assistance of the Delphic Oracle had found the bones of that hero in Tegea. The Atreid tradition was current, however, early enough to inspire the naming of King Agamemnon of Kyme, who must have been born before the end of the eighth century (p. 180).

Concerning Gras, one would dearly like to know whether he, as well as or instead of hypothetical men of the land called Graike opposite Chalkis, had anything to do with those extremely problematical "Gra-ic" families in the most famous colony of Kyme—Cumæ in Italy, from which, according to one school of thought, early Rome learned to call the Hellenes Graii or Greeks.

The tradition that Lesbos was colonized from central Greece<sup>1</sup> finds confirmation in the kinship between the Boiotian and Aiolic dialects. The accounts of immigration from Thrace are probably true also. There were many tribes beyond the frontiers of Greece proper who spoke tongues that were essentially dialects of Greek,<sup>2</sup> and had far more in common with Greeks than with the tattooed savages up country. The horse-riding Paiones are an example. From this quarter, we may suppose, came some of the barbarous-sounding personal names that were common in Lesbos, such as Tyrtamos (the original name of the scientist Theophrastos<sup>3</sup>), Kikis,<sup>4</sup> Smerdes,<sup>5</sup> Pittakos—which last figures in Thucydides (iv, 107) as the name of a Thracian

<sup>1</sup> Thk. iii, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Beloch, *G.G.* i, ii, pp. 38–45, 56–60.

<sup>3</sup> Str. xiii, 618.

<sup>4</sup> Suidas, s.v. (Cf. Homeric *ἀ-κυκος*, strength-less?).

<sup>5</sup> *Politics*, v, 1810; possibly connected with Homeric *σμερδάλεος*.

chief. And this helps to explain how it was that Lesbos took over the tradition of the Thracian, the Pierian, music—taking up, as the poets had it, the head of Orpheus when it was whirled “down the swift Hebrus to the Lesbian shore”.

Kyme was for some reason the butt of its neighbours, who made it a byword for stupidity ; its inhabitants, people said, took 300 years to find out the uses of a harbour and had to be summoned by a herald to come in out of the rain.<sup>1</sup> Of the second story, Strabo gives a charming “rationalization” : The people were in financial straits, he says, and borrowed money on the security of the colonnades or covered walks that surrounded a Greek city’s public square. Then they failed to pay the debt punctually and were debarred from using the colonnades ; and then it came on to rain, and there was to be seen the pathetic sight of the whole business community getting wet. And the creditors, struck with compassion (*κατ’ αἰδῶ τινα*), sent round the town-crier to say “Come into the shelters. . . .”

The other joke, he says, arose from the fact that it was 300 years after the foundation of the city when they let out their harbour-dues to tax-farmers for the first time, not having previously raised any revenue from such dues.

Now this may be quite true, and the date it gives us is about 750 B.C.—three hundred years after the traditional foundation of the city by Gras, the son of Archelaos, the son of Penthilos, the son of Orestes, the son of Agamemnon, who fought at Troy. How accurate these dates based on calculations as to the length of a generation may be, or whether all the early traditional dates are not too early, does not matter for the moment. The point is that Kyme is said to have been levying import and export dues in the middle of the eighth century, just about the time when, on the same chronological calculations, the great outburst of Greek oversea activity was beginning. There is nothing impossible in this. Two centuries later an inscription of Kyzikos<sup>2</sup> shows that in that city at least the list of indirect

<sup>1</sup> Str. xlii, 622.

<sup>2</sup> Dittenberger's *Sylloge*<sup>3</sup>, No. 4.

taxes had by that time grown to a formidable length. Kyme must have been one of the earliest cities to raise such taxes ; and since the perpetrators of the gibe must have had something to go on—something to show that the tax dates from the eighth century and not from the earliest foundation of the city—it seems likely that there was an inscription to be seen relating to the matter, and roughly datable, for instance by the name of the reigning king. Such an inscription near the harbour would be useful to show strangers that the newly instituted tax-gatherers had authority for their exactions.

Hesiod's father must have been trading as a merchant skipper from Kyme not long before this date.

One is reminded of the fact that Kyme is said to have planted the earliest of all Greek colonies in a foreign land—i.e. outside the area held by Greeks throughout the dark age—when she colonized Side in Pamphylia<sup>1</sup> ; also of the alleged extremely early date of the Italian Kyme, Cumæ,<sup>2</sup> founded in partnership with or afterwards refounded by Chalkis in Euboia (opposite the land where Hesiod's father ultimately settled down). The date actually given by Eusebios, 1050 B.C., is clearly that of Kyme in Asia—a simple mistake—but that Cumæ, or at least Greek trade with the region, was very early, is confirmed by the discovery of Greek vases of pure Geometric style, not much later than 800 B.C. at the latest, on that site, in what seem to be the graves of Italian natives, of the time just before Greeks occupied the place.<sup>3</sup>

This, then, is the background of the tradition quoted from the *Constitution of Kyme* of Herakleides of Pontos,<sup>4</sup> that King Midas of Phrygia married the daughter of the Kymaian King Agamemnon ; and if we are to seek an origin

<sup>1</sup> Arrian, *Anab. Alex.*, i, 26 ; cf. Str. xiv, 667.

<sup>2</sup> There is no reason whatever for the modern view that the co-founder of Cumæ was the little port of Kyme in Euboia ; it is based on no ancient authority but merely on the ignoring of the other evidence for the early maritime activity of Kyme in Aiolis.

<sup>3</sup> *Mon. Ant.*, xxii, Pl. xviii, nos. 7 and 9 ; cf. Blakeway in *J.R.S.* xxv, p. 129.

<sup>4</sup> Frag. 11, in *F.H.G.* ii ; cf. Julius Pollux, ix, 88 ; both important passages.

for the gibes at Kymaian dullness—gibes one of which, we have seen, redounds very much to the city's credit—we need look no further than the jealousy of Ionians, especially those of Phokaia and of Kolophonian Smyrna,<sup>1</sup> the rivals of Kyme for the position of chief port of Phrygia via the Hermos valley. This way will have come those Phrygian dedications of King Midas which Herodotus had seen (or at least been assured that they were his), at Delphoi<sup>2</sup>; for this is no other than the fabulous and rich King Midas of whom it was said that everything he touched turned to gold.

And with this we are brought back once more to that very important transitional period of the late eighth or early seventh century; for the last of the Phrygian dynasty whose kings were called alternately Gordieus and Midas perished in the wreck of his kingdom at the hands of the northern barbarians not later than 675.<sup>3</sup>

It was a great and civilized state with which Greeks had thus established so close a contact; literate, already in the eighth century if not before, in a script akin to our alphabet; firmly based on the teeming produce of the broad lands whose occupants were to Herodotus “richest in sheep and in the fruits of the earth of all men of whom we know”<sup>4</sup>; and advancing to greater riches on the strength of the alluvial gold of its rivers and the silver of the Taurus mines, and on the caravan trade that, guided by the direction in which the Anatolian mountain ranges run and rivers flow, had already for centuries passed to and fro there between east and west—between Sardis with its “golden river” and the great manufacturing cities of Babylonia. Its military strength rested on the horsemen of Kappadokia and on an armament, as we have seen, of round targe and crested helmet like that adopted by the Greeks; and its art, known to us

<sup>1</sup> Xenophanes, for instance (who, by the way, is quoted by Pollux, loc. cit., on the origin of coinage), certainly liked satirical stories about prominent people. Cf. his references to Pythagoras (frag. 6) and to his own Kolophonian ancestors (frag. 3).

<sup>2</sup> Hdt. i, 14.

<sup>3</sup> Str. i, p. 61, confirmed by the fact that the kingdom is not mentioned again by the Assyrians. In 668 they are dealing directly with Gyges of Lydia.

<sup>4</sup> Hdt. v, 49.

best from the façades of the rock-cut tombs of its kings, inherits the skill in monumental relief-sculpture of Hittite predecessors, while adding something new—something classical, it is not too much to say; a love of symmetry, and a feeling for the significance of abstract forms; the same qualities that distinguish Greek art, even in its early crudity, from Minoan with all its charm. In Phrygia the new qualities appear to advantage in the Tomb of Midas (whose name, Mita, appears in the inscription that crowns the façade) with the inward-inclined pylons of its doorway, giving an impression of massiveness and strength; with its shallow pediment, as of a Greek temple, and the satisfactory and skilfully executed square meander pattern that covers the intervening wall; as also in the Lion Tomb at Ayaz In, with its central pillar supported by the magnificently heraldic snarling beasts, so immeasurably superior to the Lion Gate of Mykenai, with which its general scheme challenges comparison. It is an attractive speculation to attribute the new qualities, both in Greece and Phrygia, to the immigration of a new racial strain from the Balkan region.<sup>1</sup>

The rulers of this kingdom were quite capable of pursuing a far-sighted policy abroad, as may be seen from the dexterity with which one or more kings Mita of Mushki,<sup>2</sup> (as their eastern neighbours called them), feeling their eastern frontiers menaced by the rise of Assyria, made trouble for the latter by moral support of the intervening petty states without burning their own fingers too severely; though it is true that they were really saved less by their own diplomacy or arms than by the geographical factor—the failure of the Assyrians, as of Islam in its Arab stage, ever to make a permanent lodgement north of the Taurus, even when, as happened in 709, their armies penetrated the passes. On this occasion the reigning Midas was sufficiently alarmed to make terms and offer tribute; but his formal submission remained a dead letter.

<sup>1</sup> For the European origin of the Phryges, cf. Hdt. vii, 73; viii, 138 (rose gardens of Midas son of Gordieus at Mount Bermion in Macedon, and the legend of his capture of Silenos located there); Str. vii, 330, frag. 25, etc.

<sup>2</sup> = Gk. Μόδοι, a people, of the east of Midas' kingdom.

Kyme did not lack her *sacer vates*, in the person of Ephoros, the exceedingly influential fourth century historian, who was a native of the place, and naturally liked to glorify it. He made himself, in fact, mildly ridiculous in the learned world by inserting in his work in one place, where he could find no other excuse for mentioning his home, the remark "At this time Kyme remained at peace".<sup>1</sup> He also indubitably liked a little romance in his history; so that when we find the bride of Midas, the "very beautiful and able" Hermodika or Damodika, credited by Herakleides and Pollux (*loc. cit.*) with introducing coinage in Kyme, we know at once whom to credit with the statement.

And yet it will not do simply to disregard it, as Ephoros' rather facile romancing is sometimes with equal facility disregarded by modern writers. The earliest evidence, that of a well-known passage of Herodotos (i, 94) and that of Xenophanes<sup>2</sup> nearly a century earlier still, credits Lydians with this all-important invention, and the earliest coins known to us do in fact date from the early seventh century, the time of the sudden emergence of a strong Lydia under Gyges. But money was not invented in a day, nor in any one place; there are, notoriously, scattered over the world all sorts of approximations to money, often in the form of utensils—bronze double-axes (the old Aegean symbol) in central Europe, bronze celts in the west—whose small size unfits them for use; they are clearly a medium of exchange which could be hoarded as treasure or used in dealing with pedlars or on other occasions when barter was inconvenient. Such too were the (disputed) iron currency bars of Keltic Britain and such the well-attested iron cooking-spits of early Dorian Greece. Six such "spikes"—*obols* or *obelisks*—made a handful—*drachma*. An important step was taken when kings in the Near East caused their stamp, such as the royal lion of Lydia, to be placed on lumps of precious metal—gold, silver, or *elektron*, a mixture of the two found together in the sands of the Paktolos at Sardis—to guarantee their quality; and another, the crucial step, followed, when coins,

<sup>1</sup> Str. xiii, 633.

<sup>2</sup> In Pollux, *loc. cit.*

which rapidly but not immediately assumed their final disc shape, came to be accepted as a guarantee of quantity as well as quality, superseding the use of the scales. It was this last step that, once made familiar, was everywhere imitated in seventh century Greece, and played its part as a catalyst in accelerating throughout Greek society an all-important and very painful process of economic change. But two facts may serve as a reminder that this final and crucial step cannot be said to have been taken once for all in one place by one person—not even by Gyges, much less by Hermodikia. One is the fact that the early gold or elektron pieces of Asia Minor and even true coins of Greece, by their irregular shape so easily lent themselves to clipping, and even when unclipped had so large a margin of error in their weight, that the old inconvenient scales must everywhere have been essential still for reckoning large sums. The second is the fact that in Assyria in the Sargonid period (say 720–680) half-shekel pieces of gold, silver, and copper were in general use (not, therefore, a quite new invention) in the great cosmopolitan markets of Assyria.<sup>1</sup> The pieces were cast, not struck, most usually in silver, on two standards, that “of the King” and, more commonly, that “of Carchemish”, the immemorially prosperous trading city where one of the great routes to the west crossed the upper Euphrates.

No, the idea of coinage, like that of the steam-engine or of evolution or of the differential calculus, occurred not to one mind but to several, in a given area where the time was ripe for it. The need for it had arisen, as Radet<sup>2</sup> pointed out long ago, with the development of a considerable trade over long distances by land. The Phoenician could load his ship with the produce of almost any foreign land and return to the inexhaustible markets of Tyre and Sidon; but for the caravaner, dealing perforce only in such precious goods as his beasts could profitably carry, bulky raw materials were useless, barter consequently not always possible, and money consequently an institution that he was quick to

<sup>1</sup> Inscription of Sennacherib (705–681): *C.A.H.* iii, p. 97, cf. p. 76 and n.

<sup>2</sup> *La Lydie et le monde grec*, pp. 86–111, 154 ff.

appreciate. In the eighth century caravan trade was growing along the routes from Babylon, Nineveh, and Carchemish, by Tarsus or Togarmah (Tilgarimmu), as far west as Sardis and Ionia. But in 700 b.c. the empire of Midas lay astride these routes, so that there is *a priori* probability that such approximations to coinage as those of Sennacherib's inscription became known there; and, also, when we consider the position of Kyme as the officially recognized port of Phrygia, that Kyme was indeed one of the points at which the great idea first entered Greece.

Ephoros (if it was he) must have had something to go on, some inscription or coins or early law, however much he may have romanticized the history derived from these impersonal data. It is not likely that he was a deliberate liar; he was, after all, a pupil of Isokrates, who though a rhetorician had his ideals and did a great work in education; and the fact that he makes a statement is insufficient reason for believing the opposite.

Into this context fits the obscure tradition reported by the elder Pliny<sup>1</sup> that "Midacritus was the first to import lead from the Tin Island". Later statements that Midas the Phrygian "discovered" lead—statements dating from the senile decadence of the ancient world—are probably garbled versions of the same story, substituting a familiar name for an unfamiliar.<sup>2</sup> Whether or not this has anything to do with the still more obscure allegation, in a fragment of Diodoros,<sup>3</sup> of a Phrygian command of the sea before the Phoenicians, we should most probably see in Midakritos a Greek sailor of Kyme, named "the Chosen of Midas" in honour of the phil-Hellenic king, taking part, like the

<sup>1</sup> *Plumbum ex Cassiteride insula primum adportavit Midacritus.*—Pliny, *N.H.* vii, c. 56 (57), § 197, 5. S. Reinach, in *L'Anthropologie*, 1899, pp. 401–6, suggests Hellanikos of Lesbos as P.'s source.

<sup>2</sup> Hyginus, 274; Cassiodorus, *Variarum*, iii, 51. Reinach (*loc. cit.*) suggested emending "Midacritus" in the Pliny passage into "Midas Phryx" to bring it into line with these. Better Cary, in *J.H.S.* xliv, suggests that if corruption has taken place it is more probably the longer and unfamiliar name that has been corrupted into the simpler and more familiar. *Potius difficilior lectio.* Cf. Cary and Warmington, *Ancient Explorers*, pp. 30–1.

<sup>3</sup> i.e. Eusebios' "Thalassocracy List".

founders of Cumae, in the earliest Greek exploration of the West.

One more story in which Kyme figures as the terminus of a route from Sardis is the romance of King Ardys and the Brigand Kerses, as told by Nikolaos<sup>1</sup> the court historian of Herod the Great. The ostensible date of the events is early in the eighth century. The story is no doubt apocryphal; a comparison of the different lists, given by late writers, of alleged eighth century kings of Lydia does not inspire confidence, since hardly two names agree. However, if the story comes from Xanthos the Lydian, as many rather similar stories in Nikolaos seem to do, it goes back to a respectably early (fifth century) native source; and if it is not pure history, but history as transmuted by the storytellers of a Lydian bazaar, that in itself, even though the story-teller had not quite the genius of a Herodotus, is not without interest.

Ardys and Kadys were the two sons of Sadyattes I, king of Lydia, and after their father's death held the kingdom jointly; but a noble named Sermes seduced Damanno,<sup>2</sup> the wife of Kadys, murdered Kadys and usurped the throne. Ardys escaped to Kyme, where he set up first as a wagon-builder and afterwards as an inn-keeper. In both capacities he treated with particular favour any Lydians with whom he had to deal.<sup>3</sup> At last Sermes became alarmed at his activities and began to feel that he must get rid of him; to which end he hired a brigand named Kerses to go to Kyme and bring back Ardys' head. Kerses went to Kyme and, as a first step, put up at the inn; where, however, he fell violently in love with the king's daughter, who was acting as barmaid,

<sup>1</sup> *N.D.* frag. 49.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the name of Nanno, the mistress of Mimermos.

<sup>3</sup> Notice how the story presupposes much coming and going between the hinterland and Kyme. Herakleides of Pontos in his *Kυπαλων Πολύτεια* (frag. xi, i, in *F.H.G.* ii) has a different version of the story of how the rightful King of Lydia came to be wagon-building at Kyme. Has the wagon, one wonders, anything to do with the famous Sacred Waggon of Gordius of Phrygia, which Alexander the Great found at Gordieion, secured by the Gordian knot?

a sensation which caused him to reconsider his position. Ultimately he made a full confession to the king, and offered to go back to Sardis and fetch Sermes' head—at the price of the princess's hand. Ardys did not much like the idea of such a prospective son-in-law, but the chance seemed too good to be missed, so he agreed, with private hopes that something would turn up.

Then they fashioned an imitation head of wood with real hair, and Kerses, carrying it in a bag, went back to Sardis, entered the presence of Sermes, and said "I have got it."

"Show me," said Sermes.

Kerses said that he could hardly do that before all these people, and asked for an interview in private. So they went into a private chamber, where Kerses put down his bag and opened it; Sermes bent to inspect the object; Kerses smote him shrewdly on the back of the neck, slipped his severed head into the bag, and departed.

Sermes' attendants waited for some time outside the chamber (like the courtiers of the King of Moab in the story of Ehud), and by the time they entered Kerses was well away.

Unfortunately for himself Kerses was so overjoyed at his success that instead of going back to Kyme with all speed, he stopped at an inn kept by one Thyessos, and under the influence of liquor talked too much. Thyessos finally got the whole story out of him, and being a man of sound sense appreciated the mixed feelings that Ardys would entertain towards his benefactor; so he murdered Kerses in his sleep and undertook the delivery of the usurper's head himself. Arriving at Kyme he was welcomed at Ardys' inn, as all Lydians were, and presently asked what would be the best news that Ardys could possibly receive.

"That my enemy was dead and that I had not got to fulfil the bargain I made," said Ardys.

"Your wish is fulfilled," said Thyessos, and opened his bag . . .

Ardys invited him to name his own reward, and Thyessos

said that he had no wish to rise above his station and merely asked that his caravanserai might be tax-free.

Ardys recovered his throne without opposition. Spermes' government had been unpopular, partly because there was a drought in his time. He was not enrolled in the royal chronicles.<sup>1</sup> Ardys reigned for seventy years altogether and ruled "best of all the kings after Akimios". Meanwhile Thyessos rapidly became the richest hotel-keeper in Lydia.

To return to sober history: there is, then, ample evidence from many quarters that Aiolic Kyme was one of the most forward cities in Greece at the dawn of the historical age—important in trade, in connection with the introduction of coinage, and in relations both with Phrygia and the West. It is to this very precocity of development that we owe the preservation in writing, amid the jeers of later Greeks, of some quaint old laws and usages. Such was the duty which fell to the warden of the public prison, of attending periodically a meeting of the Council held at night, at which he "led out the kings by the hand, and held them until the council had decided by secret ballot whether they were doing any wrong".<sup>2</sup> Kyme, like other Greek states later, had evidently a very limited monarchy indeed. Like Kolophon, she early developed the equestrian franchise and Grand Council of a Thousand.<sup>3</sup> Primitive, too, is the punishment for a woman taken in adultery, of being publicly disgraced by being exhibited round the town on a donkey,<sup>4</sup> which after all is more humane treatment than she would have received in some parts of the world; and most interesting of all is a practice with obvious similarity to—and difference from—the old Anglo-Saxon compurgation. In a homicide trial, if the prosecutor produced a sufficient number of witnesses from among his own kinsmen, the accused was held guilty.<sup>5</sup>

Anthropologists tell us that among some uncivilized

<sup>1</sup> ἐν τοῖς βασιληῖσι οὐ γράφεται: N.D. loc. cit.; important, as indicating that he, or Xanthos, had at least some documentary evidence before them.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, Q.G. ii.

<sup>3</sup> Her. Pont., fr. 11, § 6.

<sup>4</sup> Plut., loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup> Ar. *Politics*, ii, 1269a. Cf. p. 189, above.

peoples, in East Africa for example, the procedure in criminal trials is often noticeably un-“judicial”—in contrast to the procedure of the same peoples in “civil” suits, such as disputes about property. There is little argument. Witnesses are sworn, but not cross-examined. The underlying and unformulated theory, not unreasonable in a small and close-knit society, clearly is that if a serious crime has taken place people will know about it, and, among people who really believe in the supernatural sanctions of an oath, serious miscarriages of justice on this system are said to be rare.

West of the Aegean, among what were to become the great colonizing cities of central Greece, we find in like manner that Dorians as a rule cling to a more rigid type of constitution than Ionians. In Euboea, in the two great rival cities, Chalkis and Eretria, both Ionian, which ruled the centre of the island, the monarchies, to which at Chalkis the King Amphidamas of Hesiod's passage<sup>1</sup> belonged, give place to broadly-based upper-class republics of the equestrian type,<sup>2</sup> which lasted until the end of the sixth century. Evidence on the date of their foundation is lacking; but both states relied and prided themselves on their cavalry in the early border wars which they fought for possession of a strip of desirable territory, the Lelantine Plain,<sup>3</sup> and in Greece political power went with military effectiveness. This plain, by the way, was fertile and no doubt worth coveting for simple economic reasons; but its possession became a question of honour, and after the manner of states at war the two cities spent more blood and energy over it than the prize can possibly have been worth. Of the other cities of the island, the Dryopians of Karystos clung stubbornly to an isolated independence<sup>4</sup>; while Histiaia

<sup>1</sup> W.D. 654.

<sup>2</sup> Ar. Pol. iv, 1289b.

<sup>3</sup> Str. x, 448-9.

<sup>4</sup> K. gallantly resists the overwhelming strength both of Persia in 490 and of Athens about 472; Hdt. vi, 99; ix, 105; Thk. i, 98; cf. Paus. x, 16, 8, for the dedication at Delphoi of a bronze bull (the *type parlant* of Eu-boia) in memory of the former affair.

in the north and Styra in the south were small and have no recorded history of their own.

Corinth, on the other hand, like a true Dorian state, still in 700 B.C. lay under the narrowest possible oligarchy, that of a close circle of families all claiming descent from Bakchis, one of the early Herakleid kings.<sup>1</sup> Kingship indeed had not been abolished, but remained hereditary and tenable for life<sup>2</sup>; but it had been reduced to little more than an honorary dignity by the election of an annual Prytanis as the effective head of the state.<sup>3</sup> The date of this change was said to have been soon after the middle of the eighth century, which is probable enough.<sup>4</sup> Corinth at that date was cultured, prosperous, and expanding. The local brand of late Geometric painted pottery found its way abroad on all sides<sup>5</sup>; to Boiotia and Delphoi, to Argolis and Aigina, and, farther afield, south-eastward to the island of Thera—a fact of some significance, as will appear. The city had also its famous epic poet, Eumelos, a Bakchiad, who was credited, though not certainly, with a *War of the Gods and Titans* which was current in later days,<sup>6</sup> and whose fame spread abroad so that the men of Messene engaged him to write for them a processional *Hymn to the Delian Apollo*.<sup>7</sup> From this two beautiful lines survive. It was evidently the same sort of document as the famous and beautiful Chian “Homeric” hymn to the same deity. Probably from the *Titan War*

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. v, 92.

<sup>2</sup> N.D. frag. 58.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. ii, 4, 4.

<sup>4</sup> D.S. vii, frag. in Synkellos. The year is 747 (“ninety years before the usurpation of Kypselos”) from which date a list of the Prytanes, used in giving dates, may well have been extant, as was that of the Athenian archons from 683. (When Strabo, viii, 378, says that the Bakchiadai ruled for “about 200 years” he is allowing for the reigns of five Bakchiad kings, from Bakchis to the institution of the prytanes). The traditional date of the accession of Kypselos (657) on the other hand must in all probability be based on later conjecture and calculation only (cf. Beloch, I, ii, p. 275), for tyrants did not figure in lists of magistrates, unless they happened to hold the eponymous office themselves in any year. Under Peisistratos at Athens, for instance, the eponymous archons continue, year by year, *tamquam vetere republica*.

<sup>5</sup> H. G. G. Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Ath. vii, 277, who quotes two lines.

<sup>7</sup> Paus. iv, 33, 2, quoting:—

τῷ γὰρ Ἰθωμάτῳ καταβύμιος ἐπλέγετο Μοῖσα  
ἀ καθαρὰν κίθαριν καὶ ἐλευθερὰ σαμβαλ' ἔχοισα.

comes a line that breathes the same humanist theological views as the more flippant parts of Homer. Zeus dances : *μεσσοῖσιν δ' ὄρχετο πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.*<sup>1</sup> Eumelos lived in the age of the great voyages of discovery ; one of his (three) Muses was called Borysthenis, from Borysthenes, the River Dnieper, a name which reveals awareness of the Milesian exploration of the Euxine ; while another, Achelois, witnesses to interest in that region round the mouth of the Corinthian Gulf where a Corinthian colonial empire was to come to be.<sup>2</sup> That no river of Sicily, such as the Anapos near Syracuse, figures in the list perhaps shows that Syracuse was not yet founded ; but arguments *ex silentio* are dangerous.

Abroad, Corinth was bounded on the south by the powerful and dangerous Argos. Her aggressiveness found an outlet northward, where there was in the eighth century as yet no city-state of Megara. (The five villages<sup>3</sup> of the Megarid, were, in fact, probably driven to found one strong city by fear of Corinth—just as still later, on the outer borders of Arkadia, groups of villages founded the city-states of Heraia, Tegca, Mantinea,<sup>4</sup> the better to hold their ground against Eleians or Spartans.) The Corinthians were in a fair way to make helots of some at least of their neighbours, whom they regarded as their colonists,<sup>5</sup> according to the prevailing tradition that the district was made Dorian by a drive from the south, after the conquest of the Peloponnese ; and, with an eye to extending their power over the whole country, fomented internecine fights between the still independent villages—fighting which, according to Plutarch,<sup>6</sup> they conducted as between neighbours, in a charmingly chivalrous and medieval way. A prisoner, for instance, was treated as a guest until ransomed, and was usually the firm friend of his captor afterwards.

But a deliverer arose in Megaris : Orsippos the athlete, winner of the foot-race at Olympia traditionally in 720 B.C.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ath. i, 22.

<sup>2</sup> Σ on Hes., W.D. 1 (*βαρυαθένις* or *ἐρυαθένις*, MSS.).

<sup>3</sup> Plutarch, Q.G., 18.

<sup>4</sup> On cities founded by union of these *συντήματα δῆμων*, see Str. viii, 886.

<sup>5</sup> Demon, frag. 9 ; ap. Σ on Ar. Frogs, 489.

<sup>6</sup> loc. cit.

<sup>7</sup> Paus. i, 44, 1 ; cf. vi, 19, 3.

If the ancient chronological scheme, in which, in detail, it is impossible to feel any confidence whatever, is right in putting Orsippus' "floruit" about half a generation after the foundation of Syracuse, then the reason for his success is obvious; colonization, by relieving the pressure of population in Corinth, also relieved the pressure on Megara. To hold down the Megarid was now for Corinth no more than a matter of sentiment, no longer an economic need. This being so, Orsippus had little difficulty in restoring the boundaries of his country,<sup>1</sup> and after a little bluster<sup>2</sup> the Corinthians allowed the rebels their independence.

Aigina, protected to some extent by her "silver streak" from the more destructive comings and goings of the mainland, enjoyed a Late Minoan twilight that lasted far into the Geometric period of most states—long enough for Phœnician and sub-Minoan influences to be mingled in the treasures of certain Aiginetan graves.<sup>3</sup> This can scarcely be before the later years of the ninth century. Ultimately the island was conquered, however, by a Dorian raid from the nearest point on the mainland, from Epidauros,<sup>4</sup> and was for some generations ruled from thence as a subject district<sup>5</sup>; until, Epidauros having thus supplied the islanders, Dorians and non-Dorians alike, with common grievances and a common political outlook, a revolt broke out which established the island as a free state, some time round about 700.<sup>6</sup> Here grew up a race of bold and skilful sailors, who, however, probably because their population was at first not larger than they could easily support by farming, fishing, and local peddling trade, took

<sup>1</sup> Cf. his epitaph (of much later date); Hicks and Hill, *Inscriptions*, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Demon, loc. cit., on the phrase *Ἄιός Κόπωθος* (God's Own Country).

<sup>3</sup> Evans, in *J.H.S.* xiii.

<sup>4</sup> Hdt. viii, 46; Paus. ii, 29, 5.

<sup>5</sup> Hdt. v, 83.

<sup>6</sup> Hdt. v, 82 ff. makes a descent on Aigina from Athens, repulsed by the help of Argos, a sequel of this revolt. The story is one of H.'s more exasperating passages, being an inextricable mixture of what may be sound tradition with etiological speculation; but the detail at the end (c. 88) that as a result of this no Attic pottery or other produce was henceforth used in the precincts of Damia and Auxesia finds archæological confirmation. Both Aigina and Argos did stop importing Attic pottery about the end of the Dipylon period, c. 700.

no part in the colonizing movement.<sup>1</sup> They retained among their religious observances one rite derived from Epidauros<sup>2</sup>: the worship of Damia and Auxesia, two venerable images of olive-wood, in kneeling posture, round which choruses of women, with men as leaders and conductors, danced and chaffed each other; a typical fertility-rite, "both for the fruits of the earth and the fertility of mankind" like the Thesmophoria. Hence the images are of olive-wood—the all-important tree; they are kneeling because Greek women were often delivered in that posture<sup>3</sup>; Auxesia is "the Giver of Increase", Damia the Latin *Subigo*; and the insults are "for luck", to avert the jealousy of the unseen powers, in the ordinary way.

But of all these central-Greek sea-coast states the best known to us is Athens; if only because her later achievements prompted much fourth century scholarly research. The state was, in fact, obscure and backward at this time, and remains entirely undistinguished until its swift and remarkable emergence in the sixth century. Still, the very suddenness of that emergence is evidence that foundations had been well laid, and in fact the early Athenians had already given proof that even among Ionians they were men of no common quality. Their "Dipylon" pottery, if convention-ridden and stereotyped like all Greek pottery of its age, is magnificent as craftsmanship, both of potter and painter; and, above all, they had achieved a united Attica.

How striking a feat this was can be realized by comparing the Athenian achievement with those of other states; Boiotia, Argos, even Sparta. In the first of these we find willing union of a group of cities, indeed, but always a certain friction: suspicion on the part of the lesser cities about the intentions of Thebes, and at Thebes, the acknowledged leader, both a natural human desire to increase the city's own power—πλεονεκτεῖν—and an equally human self-righteous impatience of "disloyal" elements, and a readiness to use force to compel

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Paus. viii, 5, 5, for inland trade with Arkadia by mule caravans, as well as coasting traffic; and Str. viii, p. 376, for "Aiginetan merchandise" as a name for mixed trade goods.

<sup>2</sup> Hdt. v, 83.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Homeric *Hymn to Delian Apollo*, 116-17.

them to fall in with "the common policy of Boiotia".<sup>1</sup> And thus, a vicious circle. In Argolis, soon after the Dorian invasion, there was the fairest promise of union of all, and in the end the completest failure. There had been in the past a union under the overlordship of Agamemnon ; and more recently Argos had been the centre from which, under princes of the blood of the conqueror Temenos as poets said, the war-bands went out to Dorize Phlious, Epidauros, Sikyon ; but in all these and in the smaller towns of Argolis, local self-government led, in the less strenuous age that followed, to local self-sufficiency and unwillingness to fall in with the policy of an Argive king ; and Argive attempts to use force to reassert the original supremacy led only to bitter enmity, with Argos impotently pursuing a policy of sheer aggression, and the smaller cities prepared to unite with any more distant power, to save themselves from "slavery". Sparta had more success ; the "dwellers around" in the Lakonian townships, smaller and more tractable than those of Argolis, fought stoutly for her and were evidently well content to live under her protection and overlordship ; but even here, quite apart from the existence of a dourly hostile serf caste and the ultimately disastrous success of the attack on Messenia, which made the Spartans something like a hostile garrison in their own country and half-paralysed their power to fight abroad—even the loyal districts of Lakonia never produced anything like the military force that might have been expected of the country, for the reason that only a minority, and a shrinking minority, were citizens and thus immediately and keenly interested in Spartan policy.

Only by Athens, in the whole history of Greece in its prime, was the whole strength of the free men of over a thousand square miles of country ever wielded as one unit by one government which all men felt to be their own. Hence came the extraordinary vigour and resilience of the Athenian power in the heroic and tragic days of Perikles ; and the first step towards this was taken by the men who united Attica, before history began. It was a magnificent feat of forbearance.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Thk. ii, 2 ; iii, 61, 65.

What usually happened when a Greek city expanded is shown by the behaviour of Epidauros, requiring Aiginetans to come over to the mainland to have their lawsuits tried, or Corinth in the Megarid commanding her colonists and subjects to attend the mourning at the funerals of their Bakchiad rulers.<sup>1</sup> Credit is due to those nobles of Athens who made no such arrogant demands ; and credit also to those nobles of the other townships who surrendered their own sole local sovereignty for the greater good and undertook to fight if need be under a commander from a township 40 miles away, and in other men's border wars. How men cling to sovereignty, even when the economic and other advantages of a partial surrender of it are plain for all to see, the modern world is witness ; as also the failure of other Greeks to do what Athens did.

The closest parallel to the Athenian achievement in the rest of Greece is the foundation of the city states of Megara, Tegea, Mantinea, and others out of "groups of villages" ; but the greater size of Attica makes that achievement almost different in kind. Attica was large enough for its different regions to have separate and sometimes incompatible economic interests. Local jealousies did not perish in a day ; in fact they flared up for the last time as late as the economic crisis of the sixth century ; but by that time the lesson of union had been learned. Not even in the darkest hour did any part of Attica propose to secede.

The other "synoikisms" of cities out of *συστήματα δῆμων* took place, we have seen, under stress of military necessity, the better to make head against a dangerous foe ; and if a pressing motive be sought for that of Attica, one should probably look back to the age of the migrations, when Boiotians and Dorians were overrunning the neighbouring lands, and Attica was flooded with refugees. The thesis that the Union of at least a great part of the country dates from so early a time is supported by the Homeric Catalogue of the Fleet at Troy, which has all the appearance of a genuine and early document (mentioning neither Megara nor Corinth,

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. and Demost., loc. cit.

for example). The Catalogue mentions only one city, Athens, and one captain, Menestheus, in all Attica<sup>1</sup>; while Sunion is called "the headland of Athens" by the poet of the *Odyssey*.<sup>2</sup> Under the five lords of the Boiotians, by contrast, are enumerated the men of twenty-nine towns, and certainly Attica had been similarly divided in the Bronze Age. Legends of ancient wars between Athens and Eleusis,<sup>3</sup> or between Theseus and the Pallantidal of Pallene,<sup>4</sup> and of an independent King Kephalos of Thorikos,<sup>5</sup> find archæological confirmation; still in historic times there was no intermarriage between Pallene and Hagnous<sup>6</sup>; the remains of a palace and of late Minoan domed tombs, which are surely those of a dynasty of kings, have been found at Thorikos; and between Athens and Eleusis a dry stone wall, in the ancient polygonal style of building, crosses the three miles of lower ground between Aigaleos and Parnes, guarding the frontier with its face to the west. No occasion during historic times has been suggested at which it is likely to have been built. The Tetrapolis of Marathon, also, a designation which remained long in use for the demes of Marathon, Trikorythos, Oinoe, and Probalinthos, must be the name of a pre-Union local alliance; for *polis* means not merely a township but a citadel and place of government.

As early, then, as the very beginning of the Dark Age, or even in the Heroic Age—"in the time of Theseus," an Athenian tradition vaguely said—may be placed the process in virtue of which the country squires of Thorikos and Brauron, Marathon and Pallene, Rhamnous and Dekeleia, felt themselves alike to be citizens of Athens. The *Synoikia*,<sup>7</sup> the feast of the Union, still in the fifth century commemorated this.

But the state thus formed could and long continued to expand further. The accession of Eleusis *may* be as late as the seventh century; there is a separate king of Eleusis in

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* ii, 546 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Σούνιον ἄκρον Ἀθηνέων : *Od.* iii, 278.

<sup>3</sup> *Thk.* ii, 15.

<sup>4</sup> Philochoros, frag. 36; Plut. *Theseus*, 13, etc.

<sup>5</sup> The hero of several well-known stories, forming quite a long saga. Summary in Apollod. i, 9, 4; ii, 4, 7, ; iii, 15, 1. (The version that makes him migrate to Kephallenia (Strabo, ix, 452, etc.) is, of course, pure invention based on similarity of names.)

<sup>6</sup> Plut., loc. cit.

<sup>7</sup> *Thk.* ii, 15.

the old story told in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, and also, when the goddess has established her rites, a conspicuous absence of references to any such thing as Athenians flocking to take part in them. And the hymn is in *late* epic style—hardly earlier than 700. Salamis, a separate principality in the Catalogue, and claimed by Megara in the sixth century,<sup>1</sup> can hardly have been Athenian before that date ; and out towards the fifth-century Boiotian frontier Eleutherai, divided from Eleusis by 10 miles of scrub-covered or (then) well-forested mountains, lost in its secluded valley just south of the main watershed of Kithairon, probably did not join the Union much before 500.<sup>2</sup> Though it joined voluntarily, it remained always consciously Boiotian and never became an Athenian deme.<sup>3</sup> A like anomalous position was that of Oropos, on the sound towards Euboia ; never a deme ; Athenian in the fifth century, but claimed by Boiotia, and speaking a Boiotian dialect with Eretrian peculiarities.<sup>4</sup> Finally the limit of expansion is reached with the secession of Plataia, or Plataiai, from Boiotia, for fear of Thebes.<sup>5</sup> Plataiai, though a staunch friend and ally of Athens, is always a separate city-

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch, *Solon*, xi ; cf. Str. ix, 395, on the argument that the priestess of Athena Polias had to observe a taboo on all Athenian-made green cheese, but was allowed to eat cheese from Salamis, as also from all the other inshore islands round about Attica.

<sup>2</sup> In the Boiotian campaign of 507, Hysiae and Oinoe (which is in the same valley as Eleutherai, but a few miles farther down) are called “the farthest Athenian demes” (Hdt. v, 74) ; but one can hardly press this. H. was not writing in 507, but two generations later, and there is no reason why he should have known this remote district. Technically Eleutherai was *not* a deme. The connection between E. and Athens, however, was evidently close at the time when the afterwards famous dramatic rites of Dionysos were transplanted to the city from E. Cf. Farnell, *Cults*, v, p. 116 ; date probably late sixth century.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. i, 38, 8 ; Ath. xi, 486d, quoting Polemon ; Apollod. iii, 5, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Wilamowitz, *Oropos und die Graer*, in *Hermes*, xxi, pp. 91–115, on an inscription from the Amphiaraiion at O. Hence it is sometimes stated that Eretria ruled the district in the seventh century, e.g. by Bury, *History of Greece*, p. 151 ; Cary, in *C.A.H.* iii, p. 621. On the other hand Graike, which was a deme in the fifth and fourth centuries (Thk. ii, 28) possibly is O., or part of it (Wilamowitz, ib.). For the Boiotian connections of this district, cf. the genealogy—Graia one of the daughters of Asopos ; from Korinna, quoted by Paus. ix, 20, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Thk. iii, 61.

state.<sup>1</sup> By that time the Hellenes had become fixed in their adherence to their separate cities as the only possible political unit for civilized man, and the development of any wider union, except in backward districts where the cities were small and weak, was no longer possible.

In Athens too, as in Ionia, the kingship was gradually stripped of its powers—gradually, and without any violent conflict, it would seem. First of all, in the time of a king who was not a good soldier, comes the appointment of a Polemarchos,<sup>2</sup> a War-Lord, who is perhaps in theory chosen by the king on the advice of his council, but in effect would be appointed by the “princes” of the council from among their fellow-aristocrats.

Then, the control of force having gone, the legal headship of the state follows. The nobles elect from among their number a Regent, or Archon,<sup>3</sup> holding office for life, and with that step the king is relegated to the position of a *fainéant*. The functions that the archon took over were, above all, the major part of the king's judicial duties. In effect, he thus became the guardian of property, as is shown by his inaugural oath “that every man should hold to the end of his archonship what he held before it”.<sup>4</sup> The archons also swore “to keep their oaths as in the days of Akastos”,<sup>5</sup> which gives the name of the king, one of the last Athenian dynasty, that of the Medontidai, under whom this probably peaceful revolution took place.

For a time, elected regent and hereditary monarchy may have co-existed; but, at most, not for long. Indeed, Aristotle (who, however, had scarcely better evidence to work on, in dealing with the Dark Ages, than we have), ascribes equally

<sup>1</sup> Cf., however, Hellanikos frag. 80 ( $\Sigma$  on Ar. *Frogs*, l. 806): the Plataians apparently received, at any rate after their own city was destroyed, a *civitas sine suffragio* at Athens; (so, says the  $\Sigma$ , the slaves who fought at Arginousai were “enrolled as Plataians”); an anticipation of one of the means by which Rome succeeded in dividing, governing, and so in the end assimilating her neighbours as no city in Greece ever did.

<sup>2</sup> Ar. *Ath. Pol.* iii.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.

<sup>4</sup> Ib., lvi. The law-suits of which he took cognizance were also those concerned with property and the family; see *ibidem*.

<sup>5</sup> Ib., iii.

to the reign of Akastos the step by which the kingship was transferred from the descendants of the Kodrid dynasty.<sup>1</sup> It becomes an elective office ; the kings are chosen now from among the Medontid clan, and later from among the whole body of nobles.

Other stages followed ; oligarchies in Greece as at Rome were always jealous of any one man becoming conspicuously more powerful than those who felt themselves to be his peers. To have transferred power from hereditary king to elected regent was not enough ; and finally king, regent, and war-lord together have their term of office reduced to one year. By this time it was obvious to everyone that the archon and not the king was the first citizen of the state ; it was the archon's name that people would give in dating an event ; and hence it was a list of archons that Athens ultimately came to keep. The whole process was complete by 683, at which date the list of annual magistrates began.

The king even now had still some important functions—namely those connected with religion, which with superstitious awe men felt that it would be sacrilege to take from him. It does not seem to have worried them to remove the kingship from the House of Medon and finally to hand these functions over to one, and not the foremost, of a board of annual officials. As long as he was called Basileus he *was* Basileus, and that was enough. So the king continued to preside over most of the ancient religious festivals of the state. Therewith went some important judicial work, that of presiding over trials in which guilt was felt to involve a religious "miasma".<sup>2</sup> So it was before the king that the pious Euthyphron proposed to prosecute his father for murder, and in the King's Porch, if we may believe Plato, that he fell in with Sokrates the son of Sophroniskos, answering a summons to stand his trial for blasphemy.

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle's statement (*ib.*) that the archons at one time held office for ten years has been doubted for no very definite reason. Beloch (*I*, ii, p. 156) merely says that it *widerspricht aller analogie* ; and even that is not true. Cf. Aristotle's *Politics*, iv, p. 1299a, on *πολυχρόνιοι ἄρχαι*: v. 1305a on *μεγάλαι ἄρχαι* in early Ionia.

<sup>2</sup> *Ath. Pol.*, lvii.

So also the archon, in addition to his important functions as judge in practically all of what would in a later age be called civil cases, presided in later years, as President of the Republic, over some of those magnificently celebrated festivals which, introduced as they were when the city was growing great, were to our minds less religious than patriotic in significance ; in which the real object of worship was the glory of Athens.<sup>1</sup> And so also the Polemarch came to be judge in all litigation between a citizen and a foreigner ; an amusing legacy from a time when all disputes with foreigners had been his business for more obvious reasons.

The argument that this whole revolution must be later than the annexation of Eleusis, since the king took over the administration of the Eleusinian sanctuary, seems inconclusive. The “Regent” was so essentially a secular official (in spite of the religious functions which, as head of the state, devolved upon him later), that it would be scarcely surprising if, even after a conquest carried out later than 683, the religious duties of the king of Eleusis were entrusted to the “King” of Athens.

Finally, with the increase of judicial business, the famous college of the Nine Archons was completed by the institution of six Thesmothetai—“Law-givers”. They ranked as junior to the three older officials, which shows that the object of their institution was not that of weakening the position of the archon *par excellence*—the Eponymous Archon, after whom the year was named. A need was felt also for financial officials, and financial administration—at first, and for long, it must have been very simple—came to be the province of the Kolakretai, the Ham-Carvers, whose early existence, as well as the original character of their functions as “distributors of largesse at public festivals”,<sup>2</sup> is shown by their delightfully archaic name.

<sup>1</sup> Ib., lvi; e.g. the Archon presided over the Great Dionysia, but the Basileus over the older Lenaia, or, as Aristotle calls it, Dionysia at the Lenaion (ib. lvii). Ar. remarks, in chap. iii, that the modernity of the archon’s office is shown by the fact that he did not administer any of the ancestral festivals, *μηδὲν τῶν πατρίων διοικεῖν*.

<sup>2</sup> Cary, *C.A.H.* iii, p. 594.

The body representative of the now all-powerful nobles—the caste of the Eupatridai or “ patricians ”—was the Council, the lineal descendant of the advisory council of the king whom it had now supplanted. Its place of meeting, or one of its principal places of meeting, was the Hill of Ares, from which as the Council of Areopagus it derives the name by which it is renowned. Like the Roman senate, it seems to have been recruited by the automatic admission of ex-archons, and it thus included within itself all the best administrative and political experience of the Athenian state.

Athens like Aigina was a member of a small but interesting maritime amphiktyony of seven cities. The meeting place was the sanctuary of Poseidon on the island of Kalauria, off the coast of Troizen, and the member-states were Prasai, on the east coast of Lakonia; Nauplia, the port of Argos; Epidauros and Hermione, from the Argolic peninsula; Athens, Aigina, and the Minyan Orchomenos, so far off as Boiotia.<sup>1</sup> Some absentees are as noticeable as the names of the members. Corinth and Megara, Chalkis and Eretria, the great trading ports of the new age, are not represented, and on the other hand the most distant member, Orchomenos, is an inland city. In the classical age the overlords Argos and Sparta “ took part in the sacrifice ” on behalf of Nauplia and Prasai. The common worship dates then from a time when both these places had a life of their own, and probably from the Bronze Age, when Orchomenos, with its strong Minoan connections, had an interest in the sea and an outlet to it at Larymna.

At least one modern historian has written as if this league had economic and political significance, but of this there is no evidence of any kind. Prasai and Nauplia, like Athens and Aigina, were usually to be found in opposite camps in the wars of early Greece. The members of the sacred embassies which member-states sent to the periodic festivals at sanctuaries of this kind *may* have exchanged views on matters other than the administration of the sanctuary; they *may*

<sup>1</sup> Str. vii, 374.

even have exhorted their fellow-citizens not to practise piracy against one another's shipping ; but we hear nothing of it. Any possible original feeling of common economic interest had at any rate failed to survive the early Iron Age. As a purely religious ceremony on the other hand, the festival showed great tenacity of life. The place was also a sanctuary, an "asylum", and even so late as 322, when Demosthenes took refuge there, the Macedonian captain who had run him to earth feared to drag him away by violence. He stood beyond the pale and tried to persuade him ; but Demosthenes took poison and so escaped that pursuit.

In Peloponnes the salient fact of early Greek history is the series of bitter and lasting feuds, between almost every state and its neighbours, and within the bodies of most states, which arose out of the conquests and migrations of the early Iron Age. Partly as a result, most Peloponnesian history is provincial, sanguinary, and dull. The states demand a place in our survey, however, for the sake of completeness.

By far the most important city in the whole of Greece proper in early Dorian times was Argos. Here, according to the Greek legends of the Dorian conquest or Return of the Herakleidai, Temenos, eldest of the three brother conquerors, had settled and reigned, as the successor of Agamemnon the overlord, and from this base of operations Dorian chiefs had seized or won over the surrounding cities which had already been subject to a central power under the House of Atreus. Phalkes, a son of Temenos, was said to have won Sikyon by a night surprise, but did not eject the old inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> Deiphontes, called Temenos' son-in-law, was credited with the capture of Epidaurus, and thence with having crossed to Aigina where his Dorians likewise mingled with the old occupants.<sup>2</sup> Troizen submitted without trouble and admitted Dorian citizens<sup>3</sup> ; as its Dorian founder there is named a certain Agraios.<sup>4</sup> Phlious in its secluded plain among the hills is "taken in" a little later, accepting the same terms, when attacked by Rhegnidas,

<sup>1</sup> Paus. ii, 6, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Id. ii, 29, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Id. ii, 80, 9.

<sup>4</sup> Str. viii, 389.

son of the captor of Sikyon.<sup>1</sup> Kleonai on the other hand, nearer Corinth, seems, if we may judge by the Corinthian alphabet of an early inscription found there, to have had Corinthian rather than Argive connections.<sup>2</sup> The little old fastnesses nearer Argos—Midea and Mykenai on the edge of the Argive plain, and Tiryns, Asine, and Nauplia down by the sea, had formed part of the “ Lot of Temenos ” from the first. So had Orneai, in the hills to the north-east, near the head-waters of the Inachos. “ Orneatai ” in fact, on Argive lips, came to mean not a people, but a class—all the free-born inhabitants of the country who were not Argive citizens.<sup>3</sup> Farther afield, a good day’s march south of Argos along the coast, a remnant of the old population remained, unmixed with Dorian blood. These were the Kynourioi, an Arkadian tribe (there were other Kynourioi in the Arkadia of historic times), but Herodotos<sup>4</sup> recounts that by his time “ they have been Dorized [sc. in dialect] by Argive rule and the passage of time ”. Nor were the people of Hermione, on the tip of the Argolic peninsula, Dorians, though like them they were invaders from the north ; they were Dryopes, like the islanders of Kythnos and the men of Styra and Karystos in Euboia, said to have been dislodged by the Herakleid movements from the borders of the old Dorian home in North Greece.<sup>5</sup>

The age of the migrations was an illiterate age, and we can put little trust in any of the traditions concerning it—least of all in the glib narrative so easily accepted by Pausanias from whatever quarter. At the same time we do not know how much history Dorian epics or sagas may have preserved ; Pausanias’ tales of the House of Temenos contain much—that is poetic<sup>6</sup> ; and we are certainly very rarely in a position

<sup>1</sup> Paus. ii, 12, 6.

<sup>2</sup> A.J.A., 1900, p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> Hdt. viii, 78.

<sup>4</sup> Ib.

<sup>5</sup> Id. viii, 48, 46.

<sup>6</sup> e.g. the romance of Hyrnetho, after whom the Hyrnathioi were said to be called : Paus. ii, 28, Apollod. ii, 8, where other romances of the Herakleid houses are given. Eumelos, for instance, was a “ historical poet ” ( $\Sigma$  on Pindar, *Ol.* 13, 74) and was credited with an epic “ Corinthian Chronicle ” ; though as even Pausanias (ii, 1, 1) doubts the authenticity of this, the poem he had seen was presumably a later forgery.

dogmatically to reject such stories. The stories of the mixture of Dorian and pre-Dorian blood in Argolis, at any rate, are confirmed by the presence in historic times of other "tribes" in the cities, besides the Dorian Pamphyloï, Hylleis, and Dymanes: the Hyrnathioi at Argos and the appropriately named "Shore-dwellers", the Aigialeis, at Sikyon.<sup>1</sup>

Argos ruled also all the east coastal strip of Peloponnese, down to Cape Malea and the island of Kythera beyond.<sup>2</sup> It was an imposing heritage. Yet the very number and importance of its cities turned to a source of weakness. In the less strenuous times that followed, Epidauros, Sikyon, and the rest, left free, inevitably, to manage their own local affairs, tended to slip out of control altogether. The Greek passion for local freedom, here as so often, was the bane of any attempt to form political units of larger size. Even the little cities of the inner circle, Mykenai, Tiryns, Midea, Asine, Nauplia, Orneai, are every one of them found in rebellion against Argos at some period or other, and by the fifth century Argos in exasperation had made every one of them feel the weight of her heavy hand.<sup>3</sup> She never formally gave up her claims even against Aigina and Sikyon; so that as late as the end of the sixth century, when those communities placed shipping at the disposal of Sparta for an invasion of Argolis by sea, Argos considered it an act of treason and sentenced each to a heavy fine of five hundred talents. The surprising thing about it is that though Aigina disregarded this fantastic judgment, the Sikyonians actually admitted its justice in principle and, though they did not pay in full, compounded for a token payment of one hundred talents.<sup>4</sup> As Argos had just suffered a shattering defeat, this cannot have been for fear of Argive arms. It may be due to concern for Sikyon's important local trade with her hinterland in

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. v, 68.

<sup>2</sup> Id. i, 82.

<sup>3</sup> Mykenai, 468-7, D.S. xi, 65. Tiryns (which like Myk. sends a separate contingent to Plataia in 479), Midea, and Orneai probably about the same time? (Paus. viii, 27, 1). Village of Orneai finally razed, 415; Thk. vi, 7. Asine and Nauplia much earlier, in the reigns of kings Eratos and Damokratidas at Argos, i.e. eighth century, according to Pausanias (iv, 14, 3 and 35, 2, etc.).

<sup>4</sup> Hdt. vi, 92.

eastern Arkadia,<sup>1</sup> a good route to which goes by Phlious and Orneai, through Argive territory.

Nor yet did the alleged peaceful admission of the Dorians to most of the cities deliver these internally from a class division that in later days gave the makings of a class-war. The class-division between nobles, with their *hetairoi* or housecarles, and peasants, including many serfs, can be seen in Homer, and did not originate in the Dorian conquest, though it was not unnatural that people should think it had. No doubt the Dorian warriors saw to it that, however crowded the country might be, they got large enough farms to live on, and so their families would form the majority of the "Best People"; but the racial division only exacerbated the class-division; it did not start it. The civilized nobles with their town houses had contemptuous names for the dirty, skin-clad peasants: the Sheepskin-wearers or Club-bearers (in contrast to full-armed knights and men-at-arms?) at Sikyon; the Dusty-feet at Epidauros; the Half-clad—or the same word could mean Light-Armed—at Argos itself.<sup>2</sup> Constitutions, when we hear of them, are of the narrowest oligarchic type. A council of 180 at Epidauros and of eighty at Argos "was the state", and elected from among its own members the magistrates, who were called, in both cities, Artunai or "Directors".<sup>3</sup> The King of Argos remained—a cipher.<sup>4</sup>

The cities of the Heritage of Temenos, then, were a team which it was beyond the power of Argos either to lead or drive. Also a formidable rival to her was growing up in the south, at Sparta.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Jardé, *Formation du peuple grec*, p. 139, for frequency of Sikyonian coins at Tegea and Mantinea.

<sup>2</sup> κατωνακόφοροι or κορυνήφοροι at Sikyon, and γυμνῆτες at Argos, Pollux iii, 88; on Sikyon, also Theopompos, in Ath. vi, p. 271. κονίποδες at Epidauros, Plutarch, *Greek Qns.*, i. Cf. Theognis, 54 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Epidauros, Plut., loc. cit. Argos, Thk. v, 47, where "The eighty" mentioned *besides* "the βουλή" look by analogy like an old and revered council like the Athenian Areopagus, surviving in the fifth century alongside of the modern democratic body.

<sup>4</sup> Ar., *Politics*, v, 1810b, on Pheidon, who "from a king became a tyrant", i.e. made the royal power a reality for the last time.

Sparta's beginnings were modest. Amyklai, only three miles away to the south, her Veii, remained unconquered and un-Dorian for generations, falling, traditionally, only to King Telcklos, who must come in the eighth century.<sup>1</sup> (His eighth successor was reigning in 500 b.c.) On the other hand, the absence of legends about Sparta's conquest of the northern part of her territory, the basin of the upper Eurotas, suggests that this was hers "from the beginning", and gives colour to the Greek legend of a war-band invading Lakonia from the north-west: crossing from Naupaktos, as in the legend, in company with an Aitolian horde, and then, leaving these to settle in Elis, with which Sparta had such an early and intimate connection, passing on in search of a home, up the Alpheios valley and over the easy watershed to the Eurotas. This is indeed, as Grote pointed out,<sup>2</sup> the only easy and natural road to Sparta from any side.

Once Amyklai had gone, Sparta's expansion proceeded faster. Teleklos is said to have captured Pharis and Geronthrai,<sup>3</sup> farther down the valley, and his son Alkamenes, after an obstinate resistance, forced the surrender of Helos,<sup>4</sup> at or near the river mouth, and imposed crushing conditions of peace. The inhabitants, like the men of Orneai, like the Gergithes at Miletos, the Plataians in later Athens, or the Latins under Rome, gave their name to a social class and became Sparta's helots, the first to be so called. As serfs, the helots were not liable to be sold away from home,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Paus. iii, 2, 6; cf. ib. 12, 7, describing an ancient monument commemorating this war. Legend was busy with the story of Amyklai. Cf. Σ on Pindar, *Isthm.* vii, 18 (quoting Aristotle, *Lak. Pol.*), on Timomachos the Aigeid of Thebes, who joined the Spartans and led their attack at the time of the first invasion; Str. viii, 364, on Philonomos the Achaian traitor to whom Amyklai was given (a pious fiction, aiming at explaining how (a) the whole land was conquered at once, (b) some of it was still held by natives much later). Philonomos disappears, but later returns with a band of people from Lemnos (1) to claim it (Nik. Dam. frag. 30). For these most mysterious alleged Lemnians (Minyai), cf. *aliter*, Hdt. iv, 145. To the war with Teleklos is attached the story of how, after many false alarms, familiarity bred an ill-timed contempt; Konon, No. 36. *Sic Amyclas, cum tacebat, perdidit silentium (Pervigilium Veneris, ad fin.).*

<sup>2</sup> (Ed. 2) vol. ii, pp. 418a-19, 440.

<sup>4</sup> Ib. 2, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. iii, 2, 6.

<sup>5</sup> Str. viii, 365.

as real slaves were ; on the other hand no individual but only the Spartan state for special services could set them free.

A vigorous people with an expanding population, the Spartans found their appetite for land still unsatisfied, and already under Teleklos they were spreading west along the coast, where Teleklos is recorded to have colonized the villages of Tragion, Echeiai, and Poiëssa, "the meadow-land."<sup>1</sup> In the same generation Nikandros, Teleklos' contemporary in the other of the two Spartan royal lines, is named as having crossed swords with Argos and invaded her territory<sup>2</sup>; it cannot have been much later that Sparta broke through to the sea by annexing Prasaii and the Argive coastal strip, while Argos vainly attempted to check the victorious advance by giving support to the defence of Helos.<sup>3</sup> Certainly Sparta had a port somewhere during the eighth century, and probably it was Prasaii, through which she made contact with the eastern world, as is shown by the popularity of the Spartan type of brooch, or an imitation of it, at Paros, Delos, and Ephesos, and in general by the art, especially the ivories, of Ephesos and Sparta.<sup>4</sup>

There was a story that Asine, in rebellion against Argos, assisted Nikandros in his campaign, that the Argives then destroyed Asine when the Spartans had gone home for the winter, and that Sparta settled the refugees in a new Asine on the coast of Messene. Beloch doubts this, holding it to be an invention based on the recurrence of the name. This may be so, but it is noteworthy that Herodotos, without telling the story, does describe the people of the Messenian Asine as Dryopes. And the Dryopes do belong, as we have seen, to the coast regions of eastern Greece.<sup>5</sup>

In Sparta there was no fourth tribe beside the Dorian three. Many of the land-holding class of the old population remained no doubt in Lakonia as free farmers and kept some of their land ; but there was no sharing of citizenship, as in Argolis. The free non-Spartan "dwellers-around" were unmistakably Sparta's subjects, and seem usually to have

<sup>1</sup> Ib. 360.      <sup>2</sup> Paus. ii, 36, 4.      <sup>3</sup> Ib. 2, 7.      <sup>4</sup> See above, p. 169.

<sup>5</sup> Beloch, *G.G.* I, i, p. 833; Paus. ii, 36, 4; iv, 14, 2; Hdt. viii, 78.

fought for her not unwillingly when need arose. Quite possibly, as has been suggested, they included many Dorians whose citizen-rights had lapsed by default simply because they lived too far away to exercise them. The Spartiates proper appear now, when we can first see them, as a proud aristocracy, but far from Spartan in character in the later and still current sense. Their art and a few references in the fragmentary literature of the seventh century show them as an opulent, confident people, very much alive to the desirability of gold and silver; and if their social customs included much that was primitive, it seems that before the puritan reaction of the sixth century such customs were falling into decay.

It is worth noticing that at Thera, which island was colonized from Sparta (and where, by the way, a few Dorian "spectacle" brooches of the genuine wire type have been found, along with a larger number of the usual island types of fibulæ)—here too was to be found a small aristocracy, descended from the original settlers, ruling over a much larger number of non-free peasants.<sup>1</sup>

By this time, then (little before 700), Lakonia was wholly under Spartan sway, and the next people to suffer from Sparta's aggressions were the Messenians, westward over the Taygetos range in the rich plain of Stenyklaros.

Of this people we know practically nothing, since the Spartan conquest prevented even fragments of their traditions from being written down and preserved by any early literature; but it was universally believed that the ruling families among them too, in spite of some marriage-ties with Arkadia, were essentially Dorian.<sup>2</sup> This unvarying Greek belief may be based merely on some seventh-century Corinthian or other epic, but if so we have still to explain why the epic poet took this line. It would surely have been just as easy, had it been true, to make them purely, instead of only in part, kindred of the Arkadian aborigines, and the struggle between Messene and Sparta would then have been a struggle of two races—a type of opposition easy to understand and always popular with the plain man. On the

<sup>1</sup> Ar. *Politics*, 1290 B.    <sup>2</sup> Apollod. ii, 8, 4; Paus. iv, 8; viii, 5, 4, etc.

other hand, the Messenian royal house, though duly tacked on to the Herakleid genealogy, was called that of Aipytos, after an ancient Arkadian hero, whose tomb is mentioned by Homer.<sup>1</sup> He was explained as a maternal ancestor—father of Kypselos, father of Merope, who married Kresphontes the Herakleid conquistador of Messene. Their son, a second Aipytos, then founds the dynasty.

On the whole there seems no sufficient ground for denying the Greek belief that Messene had been conquered by a band of Dorians, who, however, had to some extent mingled (not without murmurings from those Dorians who had hoped for a privileged status) with the old inhabitants.<sup>2</sup> The Messenian dialect certainly had no more Arkadian in it than Spartan Doric; in the fifth century they were one dialect.<sup>3</sup> This might be another case of a people being “Dorized by time and Dorian rule” like the Kynourians; but if so, the “Dorizing” here has affected a much more numerous people.

The legends suggest that the kingdom of Stenyklaros was an easy-going institution. It was probably imperfectly unified and commanded little warmth of feeling from its remoter members; for one early Messenian victor in the games at Olympia gave his name as “a man of Korone” (his native village on the south coast) and not, like several other winners about the same time, as a Messenian.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* ii, 604.

<sup>2</sup> So Ephorus (frag. 20, Str. viii, p. 361), Paus. loc. cit., etc. Wade-Gery's thesis (*C.A.H.* ii, p. 533) that “Tyrtaeus at least was sure that the Messenians were no Heraclids; Zeus, he says, is not so crook-necked as to let his Heraclid Spartans be beaten by these fellows” seems to be getting too much out of the Greek. What the poet actually says is (frag. 8) “But—ye are the seed of unconquered Herakles—be valiant; Zeus has not a crooked neck; and fear not an host of men nor be afraid” . . . There is nothing contemptuous about “these fellows”.

<sup>3</sup> Thk. iv, 41; where the Messenians mentioned as being δυσφωνοι to the Spartans had left Peloponnese about 460. For an Arkadian element in Lakonia, cf. inscrs. from Tainaron with Ποοιδάν for pure Doric Ποτειδάν: Nilsson op. cit., p. 87.

<sup>4</sup> Oxythemis, winner of the footrace in Ol. 12, 732 B.C. according to Hippias' list (in Eusebios). There was, however, a variant reading *Kλεωναῖος* for *Κορωναῖος*, see Beloch, i, ii, p. 154. Cf. Ephorus (frag. 20) in Str. viii, p. 361, for the early division of Dorian Messene into five cantons, each with its local king. We do not know enough about Ephorus' materials to admit of our rejecting such stories.

The Messenians were therefore overweighted in their contest with the Spartan robber-kingdom, but they hung on stoutly, and it was not until after twenty years of exhausting, though of course intermittent, warfare that the spirit of those that were left of them was broken and they accepted the terrible peace-terms that had been imposed on Helos. Here for the first time in Peloponnesian history we have some really trustworthy information to rely on—that of Tyrtaios,<sup>1</sup> who will have been old enough to have talked to old men who had fought in this war when young :—

“ To our king, Theopompos loved of heaven, through whom we conquered broad Messene—Messene good to plough and good to plant ; and over it fought, for nineteen years, unceasingly, with steadfast heart, those warriors the fathers of our fathers ; and in the twentieth (the foe) left their fertile farms and fled from the high mountains of Ithome.”

Theopompos' eighth successor was on the throne in 500, so if the reigns of Spartan kings in the seventh and sixth centuries averaged just over twenty-five years—as they did, in both royal houses, in the fifth and fourth centuries—then the war will have been in progress before and after the year 700. The poet gloats over the goodness of the prize with primitive candour. Mount Ithome is on the eastern edge of the hill-country of western Messene, overlooking the lowlands of Stenyklaros ; a natural defensive position where we may picture the Messenians holding out year after year, growing such crops as they could in the mountain valleys behind them, while quite unable to dispute possession of the plain of Stenyklaros against the enemy's hosts.

The eight lines translated are usually printed as a continuous passage in editions of the “ collected fragments ” of Tyrtaios. This they may have been, but no ancient author quotes them as such. Another noteworthy point is the way in which the same lines are quoted for us by different ancient authors in discussing this war.<sup>2</sup> This raises the question to

<sup>1</sup> *Frag. 4.*

<sup>2</sup> “ Messene good to plough and good to plant ” quoted by Σ on Plato, *Laws*, 629 A (who calls it τὸ φερόμενον ἔπος), also by Σ on *Alkib.* i, 122 p ;

what extent the Hellenistic writers "went to the sources" for archaic history, and to what extent, as the saying is, "History repeats itself, historians repeat each other." If the repetition is not due to this, then it brings us to the equally distressing conclusion—as regards the credibility of statements in ancient writers which are not definitely said to be based on Tyrtaios—that Tyrtaios in fact did not give any more historical information. This was probably the case. His business, as we can see from the surviving poems, was not history but exhortation; and Pausanias gives us the valuable negative information that he nowhere named the Spartan kings of his own day.<sup>1</sup>

Pausanias gives an exciting, readable and romantic account of the war, but it is not history. Even he, who usually copies down complacently the accounts of earlier romantic historians (after all, why should he not? He only claims to be writing a guidebook)—even he is shocked at the badness of the authorities for these wars—a Hellenistic poet who versified selections from Messenian romance, and a Hellenistic prose-writer who was more romantic than the poet; and he at least conscientiously tells us so.<sup>2</sup>

Tyrtaios does further tell us, thanks to Pausanias,<sup>3</sup> some details about the helot's lot to which the conquered were reduced. It was and was meant to be economically and socially—that is to say, physically and mentally—crushing. It included the payment of a tribute, or rent, of no less than fifty per cent of the produce of their land, and the obligation to attend and take part in the mourning at the funerals of their Spartan lords, especially kings. Well might the poet describe them as "like asses bowed beneath great burdens".

But it took much to break the spirit of the Messenian nation, and this conquest sowed the seeds of a future such as neither Theopompos nor anyone else could have dreamed.

(misprint, "162" in Diehl) also alluded to by Strabo, viii, 866. Thence to end, quoted by Strabo, vi, 279; also by Pausanias, last two lines in iv, 13, 6, remainder in iv, 15, 2. Lines 1, 2, naming Theopompos, Paus. iv, 6, 2.

<sup>1</sup> Paus. iv, 15, 1.      <sup>2</sup> iv, 6, 1-2.      <sup>3</sup> iv, 15, 3, quoting Tyrt. (frag. 5).

Of the remaining lands of the Peloponnese there is little to be said. In Elis, the Aitolian horde, which in the legend accompanies the Dorians from "windy Erineos" in the northern Doris, had established themselves in the "Hollow Vale"—a plain between hills and sea—from which their state took its name. Their fertile cornland and pasture-land—in which, as in other fertile lands, the Rape of Persephone was localized<sup>1</sup>—gave them all that they could desire of sustenance, and like the good man in Hesiod they had no need to wander over the sea. Partly no doubt in defence of what they had taken, they fought, and ultimately established a "protectorate" over, the surviving older inhabitants to south of them. There resulted, here also, a state whose remoter members were more conscious of their local village patriotism, and an early victor at Olympia is described not as an Eleian—that would have meant an inhabitant of the "Hollow Walis"—but as a man of Dyspontion in the south.

In Elis city life on the Aegean pattern never developed except late and as an artificial growth. There was no city of Elis until after the Persian wars.<sup>2</sup> We shall hear of border wars against Arkadian hillmen inland, against the Achaians of Dyma in the north and against recalcitrant subjects in the south; but for the rest Elis had no history. Probably because there was so little need for politics, the government was allowed to pass into the hands of a Council of Ninety, whose members, elected for life from among certain families only, "formed another oligarchy within the original one"<sup>3</sup>; that is to say, probably, gradually ceased to consult the general assembly of the fighting men of the dominant nation.

Elis' chief claim to importance in Greek affairs therefore lay in her possession of the great sanctuary of Olympia. Here, in the valley of the Alpheios, the Eleian invaders who had pushed southward thus far founded, traditionally in 776 B.C., the four-yearly *panegyris* with its athletic sports in honour of Olympian Zeus, which won such fame.. The place was already held sacred; in early days there is said to

<sup>1</sup> Paus. vi, 21, 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> Str. viii, 836.

<sup>3</sup> Ar. *Politics*, 1306 A.

have been an oracle here.<sup>1</sup> An athletic festival for girls, consecrated to Hera, was held on the same site, and the fact that the "furlong" course for the girls' footrace equalled the length of one side of the Altis, the sacred "Grove",<sup>2</sup> while the men's furlong, longer by a fifth, encroached on a neighbouring precinct of Demeter, makes it practically certain that the Heraia, the girls' festival, is the original foundation; the men's sports and the male god are intrusive. Here, as on some other sites, a male "Aryan" sky-god has wholly or partly supplanted a Mediterranean Mother or Maiden.<sup>3</sup> The Eleian river-name Peneios itself, perhaps, like the name of Olympia certainly, is a relic of the southward movement of Greeks whose ancestors had lived in the north and localized the home of their gods on Olympos in Thessaly.

For the present, however, the fame of Olympos spread abroad, naturally, for not many days' journey, and the winners in the early years were Messenians, Eleians, and their neighbours, from Dyma on the Achaian coast to the southern sea at Korone.

In the hills south of the Alpheios, meanwhile, a remnant of the older Greek peoples maintained a precarious independence—the only area where, in early historic times, an Arkadian population touched the sea. At Dyspontion and Skillous, as we have seen, men did not count themselves Eleians, and the time was to come when, as the State of Pisa (that is, of Olympia), these folk were to run the great Gathering for a space, and have their time of renown. Then Elis marked them for her prey; but even after the fifth-century Eleian and Spartan harrying of Triphylia there was still kept up a local *panegyris* of the Three Peoples of the neighbourhood at the much-revered temple of Poseidon Samios near Makistos—a gathering for which in the old days, here also, a *troga Dei* called the Samian Truce used to be proclaimed.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Str. vii, 353.

<sup>2</sup> = Attic ἄλσος.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Hymn to the Pythian Apollo*—Apollo's treatment of the local nymph Tilphoussa.

<sup>4</sup> Str. viii, 343.

And up in the central highlands the many tribes of the ancient people of the Arkades remained unsubdued. Here in the early Iron Age there were no cities at all, except possibly Orchomenos in the north ; and city-states never did develop, except on the frontiers towards Elis and Sparta, where, the better to resist the invaders' perpetual encroachments, the populations of two groups, each of nine villages, came together to follow the example of more civilized Greeks and dwell together behind a wall.<sup>1</sup> Thus Tegea, at least, achieved a certain level of civilization in the seventh century, and imported some eastern luxuries from Ionia. Mantinea, as a city, seems to be later still ; and Strabo believes that when Homer's muster-roll names these places he refers in every case not to a city but a region.<sup>2</sup>

Arkadians were subdued by the newcomers alike on east, south-east, and west ; on the east Kynouria, in the west Triphylia—in the end ; and south of Tegea there had been free Arkadians once in Aigytis, near the head-waters of the Eurotas, and at Karyai,<sup>3</sup> where the Spartans still in the fifth century used to sacrifice the *diabateria* and take the omens before crossing their frontier.<sup>4</sup> The men of Tegea steeled themselves to resist this advance.

The Arkadian herdmen and farmers at least had no such class and race-division poisoning their society as their wealthier and more up-to-date neighbours had ; and they have become a byword for pastoral innocence ; but theirs was no idyllic peace in reality. A primitive people, “older than the moon,”<sup>5</sup> theirs was a hard land, a land whose surplus population became great mercenary soldiers in later ages, a land of great fighters<sup>6</sup> and of hideous and terrible gods.<sup>7</sup>

Lastly, least of all the chief regions of the Peloponnese was the coastal strip of Achaia. Legend made these Achaians

<sup>1</sup> For Heraia, cf. the inser. from Olympia, Tod, No. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Str. viii, 337.

<sup>3</sup> Photios, s.v. *Kapuáreia*.

<sup>4</sup> Thk. v, 55.

<sup>5</sup> Aristotle, in Σ on Ap. Rhod. ii, 264. Cf. Aristoph., *Clouds*, 398, and Σ.

<sup>6</sup> e.g. cf. Ephoros (frag. 97) in Ath. iv, 154 D ; cf. also the great number of Arkadians named in Xenophon's *Anabasis*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. pp. 70 ff.

the descendants of those who, when the Dorians came, retired north under King Tisamenos, the son of Orestes. It is almost demonstrably false. The unlikelihood of a retirement before the Dorians ending on the north coast needs no stressing. There was another legend in which Tisamenos was killed ; and the fact that these Achaians—or at least their colonists in Italy—spoke good broad Doric,<sup>1</sup> not one of the dialects that one would expect of the descendants of Homer's heroes, makes it likely that these are a later wave of Achaians, moving in the wake of Dorians and Aitolians from northern Greece.

Wedged between the hills and the sea—for along most of that coast there is no coastal plain at all—the dozen Achaian communities roused no man's covetousness, and were themselves too weak to threaten others. Only in the west the people of Dyma are found fighting the Eleians, and in the east Pellene, standing a few miles inland in a fair-sized valley, conducted neighbourly hostilities with Sikyon. The Achaians' chief claim to importance, and it is not inconsiderable, arises from the fact that when, in the late eighth century, the growing population in Greece was everywhere pressing hard on the means of subsistence, in Achaia there was obviously not another acre of ground to bring under cultivation anywhere. Consequently no people played a greater part than the Achaians in the colonization of the West.

There remain to be considered the states of the northern mainland, from the borders of Illyria to the Attic-Boiotian frontier.

None of these, save Boiotia, the only one of these lands in which Minoan civilization had taken firm root, contributed anything of importance towards the movement that culminates in Greek tragedy and Greek rationalism ; nor did they even develop the city-state. Like the Peloponnese,

<sup>1</sup> On the evidence of inscriptions, of the fifth century, from the Achaia colonies in south Italy. Early inscriptions from Achaia itself have not yet been studied. See Buck's *Greek Dialects*.

they are irrelevant to the great movement of the Greek renaissance, which is the work of Ionia and of the lands round the Isthmus ; but several of them are not uninteresting in themselves.

Most powerful of these northern tribal units was Thessaly. Here a strong band of conquerors, the Thessaloi or in their own tongue Petthaloi, whose eponym Thessalos is mentioned in Homer's *Catalogue* as a Herakleid,<sup>1</sup> had established themselves, ruling over an alien but still Greek serf-population who tilled their estates in the broad pasture-land within its mountain wall, and conducting perennial warfare against the mountain tribes. The serfs, who were known as Penestai, "the Poor," remained stubbornly disaffected and repeatedly but unsuccessfully rebelled. The first of these revolts took place "before the Thessalians had ended their wars with the Magnetes Perrhaiboi and Achaioi".<sup>2</sup> The Penestai were not racially akin to these neighbouring tribes, or they might have combined with them. They invented for themselves a separate eponymous hero, the transparently mythical figure of "Penestes".<sup>3</sup> The overlords were probably nearer of kin to the western mountaineers than to their own serfs. It will be from the latter that they picked up the Aiolic elements which, in the Thessalian dialect, blend with the "north-west Greek" speech of the mountaineers.<sup>4</sup>

Occupying the finest pasture-land in Greece, which has little such territory, the Thessalian nobles were able to keep up the horse-loving and horse-breeding habits of the Homeric heroes and of remoter "Aryan" ancestors ; and with the appearance in the Aegean region of the thoroughbred horse which could carry a man at a gallop, they were quick to develop the new cavalry arm. Relying on their horsemen, the Thessalians were able to prevail over all their enemies, and their cavalry ultimately became formidable enough to use shock tactics even against good infantry,<sup>5</sup> and to defend the Thessalian plain effectively by harassing warfare against

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* ii, 676-9.

<sup>2</sup> *S* on Aristoph. *Wasps*, 1271.

<sup>3</sup> *Hdt.* v, 68.

<sup>4</sup> *Ar. Politics*, ii, 1269 B.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. pp. 148-9.

a powerful invader.<sup>1</sup> Its organization always remained rough and “feudal”; powerful chiefs maintained and led large bodies of retainers; we read of Menon of Pharsalos in the fifth century leading a private army of two or three hundred mounted Penestai “of his own” to the help of the Athenians before Amphipolis.<sup>2</sup>

So the Thessalians suppressed their serfs and curbed the predatory instincts of the Perrhaiboi, and pressing on through Achaia established an ascendancy also over the Malians, Dolopes, and Ainianes in the Spercheios basin to southward. Of the six peoples who were thus compelled to accept Thessalian overlordship, all except the Malians appear in Homer's list of the Achaian allies at Troy, but they have not been unaffected by later race-movements. Homer locates Perrhaiboi and “Enienes” together “round wintry Dodona”,<sup>3</sup> whence in historic times we find that they have been driven, the Perrhaiboi eastward to the mountains on the northern border of Thessaly, the Ainianes south-east to its southern border. The Malians are newcomers, who are said to have come “with Herakles”, as befits a conquest-people, and driven the primitive inhabitants, the Dryopes, from “what is now called Doris” on the slopes of Oita.<sup>4</sup> The Achaioi of Phthiotis are still *in situ*, like the Dolopes, but their territory has suffered contraction; they have been driven into the hill-country of Othrys, losing territory on the south, along the Spercheios, to the Malians, and on the north, in the plains round Pharsalos, to the Thessaloi.

<sup>1</sup> Thk. i, 111, on the Athenian invasion of Thessaly about 454 in support of the exiled Orestes of Pharsalos; Myronides' effective occupation was confined to “the ground his infantry stood on”.

<sup>2</sup> Demosthenes, *Against Aristokr.*, 51 (p. 687).

<sup>3</sup> Il. ii, 748. Strabo (ix, 442) and Plutarch (Q.G. xiii) say that they had a still earlier home on the Thessalian plain whence they were driven out into the hills by the Lapiths. See Halliday, on Plutarch loc. cit. The complicated account of their wanderings there given is circumstantial, but seems to rest on “Kombinationen” rather than on any early evidence. I can make nothing of the itinerary of Apollo (Olympos—Pieria—Emathia—Enienes—Perrhaiboi—Iolkos) in *Hymn to Pythian Apollo*, 38 ff. If the writer really knew any north-Greek geography at all, he makes Apollo revolve in small circles.

<sup>4</sup> Hdt. viii, 43.

The Magnetes of the east coast mountains, round Pelion and Ossa, stand apart from their neighbours ethnologically as well as locally, and have the appearance of a remnant of the older population of the Aegean. Their dialect was Aiolic, not the Doric of the Malians and Achaians; and Pindar mentions their characteristic national dress<sup>1</sup>—close-fitting, unlike that of most Greeks, and suggesting that of the Aegean Bronze Age, or the “onion-skin” tunic of Odysseus in one well-known passage.<sup>2</sup> Pent in their high mountains by Thessalian pressure, some of them retired overseas, and some lines attributed to a seventh-century poet show us one such exile, “a Thessalian from Crete, of Magnesian race,” keeping alive the memory of his lost home.<sup>3</sup>

On this economic and military basis, its horses and its land,<sup>4</sup> grew up a powerful state, able to pursue a spirited foreign policy in central Greece. The leading part in politics was naturally played by the great landed families; the names recur again and again of the Aleuadai of Larissa, Echekratidai of Pharsalos, Skopadai of Krannon.<sup>5</sup> Aleuas the Red, founder of the political fortunes of the Aleuad house, was said to have divided the land into Quarters or Tetrarchies,<sup>6</sup> a feat elsewhere ascribed to Thessalos,<sup>7</sup> the mythical founder of the race. The townships of Thessaly were most of them little more than markets and meeting places for the inhabitants of the great plain, and had none of the separatist vitality of a typical Greek city-state; which alone made such a broad territorial state a possibility. Arrangements were

<sup>1</sup> *Pyth.* iv, 80 (140).

<sup>2</sup> *Od.* xix, 232–4.

<sup>3</sup> Epitaph on Hippaimon, who was killed in battle, with his horse (“Swift-foot”), his dog, and his squire, *A.P.* vii, 304; attributed to Peisandros of Rhodes by a marginal commentator who cites Nikolaos of Damascus. The employment of dogs in battle, as this dog, sharing its master’s epitaph, presumably was employed, marks the epigram as an early one (cf. p. 168).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the “Megarian oracle” ( $\Sigma$  on Theokr. xiv, 48), Thessalian horses and the land of Pelasgian Argos, in Phthia, acclaimed as the best in Greece.

<sup>5</sup> Aleuads: Pindar, *Pyth.* x; Hdt. vii, 6, etc. Echekratids, Anakreon, 107 (*A.P.* vi, 142), Thk. i, 111; Skopads, Simonides, frag. 4 (cf. Plato, *Protag.*, p. 389a) and 6, Theokritos, xvi, 36 and  $\Sigma$  ad loc (where a Skopad named Kreon marries a lady named Echekrateia); Hdt. vi, 127.

<sup>6</sup> Harpokration, s.v. *tetrapaxia*, quoting Aristotle (see below, p. 224, n. 3).

<sup>7</sup> S.B. s.v. *Δέριον*.

made by which the whole league (that is, the nobles) could make common decisions<sup>1</sup>; and a dictator, the Tagos, might be elected with wide powers over the whole land. There was not necessarily a Tagos in office at any one time, but once elected he tended to remain in office for life; he was often called King of Thessaly,<sup>2</sup> and a forcible character in this position could in effect be a law unto himself. We know nothing of methods of procedure in these decisions and elections; probably the laws, if any, were freely twisted to suit the wishes of powerful nobles, and if jealousy and a *de facto* balance of power among the great houses were prominent, no Tagos would be elected and the state's foreign policy would be weak and vacillating.<sup>3</sup> Thessaly became a by-word for violence and lawlessness,<sup>4</sup> and a chieftain of the time of Alexander the Great thinks it worth while to say on an inscription in honour of his grandfather that he ruled all Thessaly for twenty-seven years "not by force but by law".<sup>5</sup>

The organization of the Thessalian "empire" seems to have been completed by a Skopas who fixed the sums to be paid in tribute by the "allies",<sup>6</sup> that is the surrounding tribes, whom we thus learn to have been taxed as well as bound to furnish contingents in war. This statesman is probably the "Skopas the elder" of whom we hear,<sup>7</sup> grandfather of the like-named friend of the poet Simonides. The Skopad house was the leading family in Thessaly at this date<sup>8</sup> (early sixth century), and in any case such precise

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. v, 63; the Th. support Hippias κοινῇ γνώμῃ.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. the Aleuadai are called βασιλέες, Hdt. vii, 6. Cf. Xen., Hell., vi, 1, 8, for the expression "when there is a Tagos in office"; also, ib. § 12, and I.G. ix, 2, 257, the words κέν ταγᾶ κέν ἀτραγᾶ.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. e.g. ineffectiveness of help sent to Athens in 431, at a time when the nobles were divided into two factions: Thk. ii, 22.

<sup>4</sup> ἐκεῖ γὰρ δὴ πλειστη ἀτράξια καὶ ἀκολασία—Sokrates, in Plato, *Kriton*, c. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Inscription of Daochos of Pharsalos, at Delphoi; see Beloch, *G.G.* I, ii, p. 207.

<sup>6</sup> Xen., Hell., vi, i, 19; Jason of Pherai levies tribute ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Σκόπα τεταγμένος ἦν

<sup>7</sup> Ath. x, 438c, quoting Phainias of Eresos.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Hdt. vi, 127, where the Thessalian representative at the Wooing of Agariste is Diaktorides, a Skopad of Krannon.

financial arrangements best suit the age when coinage was coming into use even in backward districts.

Thessalian government of the lower classes and the "allies" seems to have been arrogant and grasping; in some of the cities no one engaged in money-making, agriculture, or any menial trade or occupation was allowed to set foot in the political place of meeting<sup>1</sup> (probably a survival of an ancient taboo), and a comic playwright has a joke about the Pharsalians "roasting and gobbling up an Achaian city"<sup>2</sup>; but they became Hellenized in an aristocratically munificent sort of way.<sup>3</sup> Their sons wrestled and ran in the great games of Greece, and they employed Simonides and Pindar to celebrate their victories. Anakreon, too, was their guest; nor should it be forgotten that one of the poems written by Simonides for the younger Skopas was an ethical discussion on the thesis "it is hard to be good". Simonides must therefore have known that his patron would not spurn such things.

Meanwhile the mountain tribes remained barbarous and predatory. Thucydides (i, 5) speaks of up-country mainland Greeks among whom a clever robber was held in honour; and once when Xenophon's Ten Thousand were amusing themselves with sports at a halting place on their march home, some Ainianes and Magnetes danced their national Brigand's Dance,<sup>4</sup> an elaborate mimic display in which pairs of performers "went through the motions" of an attack by a robber on a farmer, as he follows the plough with his arms at hand. It was not without reason that in the wilder parts of the north-west even at that time no one went unarmed.<sup>5</sup> Kidnapping was almost a Thessalian industry, and the port of Pagasai did a great trade in slaves.<sup>6</sup>

West of Thessaly the Thessalians had no "allies", as they had on the north, south, and east. That way lay the main range of the Pindos mountains, a sufficient boundary

<sup>1</sup> Ar., *Politics*, vii, 1331a.

<sup>2</sup> Mnesimachos, ap. Ath. x, 418.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Xen., *Hell.*, vi, 1, 3, on Polydamas of Pharsalos: φιλάξενος καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῆς τὸν Θετταλικὸν τρόπον.

<sup>4</sup> The Karpaia (? from [χ]αρπάζω, cf. Latin carpo), *Anabasis*, vi, i, 7-8.

<sup>5</sup> Thk. i, 5.

<sup>6</sup> Aristoph., *Ploutos*, 521; Hermippus ap. Ath. i, 49.

and political horizon. West of these a sort of penumbra of tribes, half-Hellenized or less, stretched from the Corinthian Gulf up to the ill-defined border where Illyria began. Conventionally a "barbar"-ian was, of course, a person who did not talk coherently but merely jabbered, i.e., whose language the Greeks did not understand, and by this scarcely scientific criterion some of the remoter Akarnanes and Aitolians would scarcely have passed as Hellenes.<sup>1</sup> Thucydides describes their speech as "most unfamiliar", and there was at least a popular belief at Athens that they ate their meat raw.<sup>2</sup> Hellas was sometimes said to end at the Ambrakian Gulf (so, Skylax, c. 35); north of this was simply nameless Epeiros, "the mainland," inhabited by Thesprotoi, Molossoi, Chaones. Yet the Thesprotoi, in whose land lay the ancient and holy oracle of Zeus at Dodona, were really a Greek-speaking race,<sup>3</sup> and Alkon the Molossian must have been accepted as a Hellene when he came courting the daughter of the great dynast of Sikyon.<sup>4</sup> The Chaones seem to have been the most powerful of all these Mainlanders<sup>5</sup>; they may have been connected with the Chones, near the "heel" of Italy, whose pottery marks them as immigrants from east of the Adriatic. The Molossian chieftains at any rate bore Greek names, and their kings traced their descent from Achilles.<sup>6</sup> This people developed an interesting limited monarchy; beside or over against the king stood an elected Prostatas or Champion of the People, and king and people (through their Champion) annually swore an oath to respect one another's lawful rights.<sup>7</sup> The Chaones also by the fifth century were a republican tribe and had a Prostatas as their chief magistrate.<sup>8</sup>

Doubtful in like manner was the status of the northern neighbours of Thessaly, the Makednoi or Makedones, the Macedonians; their dialect was unintelligible to southern

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Str. x, p. 449: *Αἰγαλοὶ καὶ Ακαρνᾶνες καὶ Αθαμᾶνες, εἰς χρῆ καὶ τούτους Ἐλληνας εἶπεν.*

<sup>2</sup> Thk. iii, 94.

<sup>3</sup> Hdt. ii, 56; iv, 83.

<sup>4</sup> Hdt. vi, 127.

<sup>5</sup> Hellanikos (ap. S.B.) mentions them separately, "Chaones and mainlanders"; cf. Thk. ii, 81, for their confidence in their own prowess.

<sup>6</sup> Paus. i, 11, 1.

<sup>7</sup> See Ar. *Politics*, viii, 1318a.

<sup>8</sup> Thk. ii, 80.

Greeks, but their proper names leave no doubt of its character; such names as Philip, Alexander, Amyntas, Ptolemaios, Antiochos, Kleopatra. Not only vowels, but some of the consonants were different, however—e.g. *V* (written *B*) for the Greek *PH*; hence Berenike, for Pherenike, “Victoria.” Here, too, a young prince won acceptance as a true Hellene by stringent judges—Alexandros the Philhellene, who was admitted to the Olympic Games (after an appeal against him by rival athletes had been disallowed) and tied for first place in the furlong sprint.<sup>1</sup> Here, too, the royal house claimed Greek heroic descent, from the Herakleid kings of Argos,<sup>2</sup> on the strength of the likeness of their family name, Argeadai; and Alexander’s successors of the fifth century learned to patronize Greek poets and worked hard to hammer some civilization into their virile but very difficult subjects. But to all these peoples, Hellenism penetrated slowly. The springtime of that civilization was already past, in the age when the greatest of the Argeads struck down Persia, when Aitolia defended Hellas against the Kelt, and when a king of Epeiros measured his strength with Rome.

Wild as Aitolia and Akarnania might be, the tribes of each land had a consciousness of racial unity, and a common meeting-place where no doubt they gathered annually for worship and sports. The Akarnanes met at Stratos (the place where the army gathers) and the Aitolians at Thermon, where fine large temple-buildings, decorated in the latest Greek style, with painted terra-cotta gargoyles and antefixes from Corinth, were being erected in the seventh century.<sup>3</sup> Even this much tribal unity was lacking among their neighbours on the Corinthian Gulf, the Ozolian Lokrians. They lived in walled villages and not in unwalled ones like the Aitolians,<sup>4</sup> and as a maritime people no doubt felt them-

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. v, 22.

<sup>2</sup> Hdt. viii, 187—a charming and “primitive” fable, containing much to interest the lover of folk-lore. The northern “youngest son of three” motive (cf. Hdt. iv, 5, 10, on Scythia) is one of several details that make one feel that one is reading Grimm. For the name Argeadai, cf. Str. vii, frags. 11 and 20.

<sup>3</sup> Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, p. 254.

<sup>4</sup> Thk. iii, 94.

selves much more civilized than the up-country tribes ; but if their tiny "cities" were stronger, the tribal unity was by so much the weaker, and as late as the fifth century the little towns of Oiantheia and Chaleion are found treating with one another as with complete foreigners—the effect of the treaty being slightly to limit, as between the high contracting parties, the rights of piracy usually claimed by any Lokrian who was strong enough, against any foreigner whatever.<sup>1</sup> The eastern Lokrians, on the coast facing Euboia, on the other hand, became united with the city of Opoeis or Opous as their capital. They were ruled by an assembly of a Thousand, recruited from an aristocracy known as the Hundred Houses, and are notable for the fact that alone among Greeks they traced descent through the mother.<sup>2</sup>

Between the two severed parts of the Lokrian nation lay the Phokians, whose villages had the usual annual meeting place at a temple between Daulis and Delphoi.<sup>3</sup> They were a stalwart and virile people, who in the sixth century offered a stout resistance to the southward pressure of Thessalian imperialism ; but their part in history depends chiefly on the fact that on the borders of their territory—in their territory, patriotic Phokians would have claimed—lay the two centres of the Amphiktyony of Delphoi.

When the Thessalians had extended their power over Ainiannis and Malis they found themselves facing, where the road went south between the precipitous slopes of Mount Oita and the sea, the famous pass known as the Gates, or the Hot Gates, Thermopylai, from the hot springs that were said to have gushed up to welcome Herakles on a weary march.<sup>4</sup> Close by, at the sanctuary of Demeter at Anthela, were the headquarters of a "League of Neighbours" destined

<sup>1</sup> Inscription from Oiantheia in the British Museum ; Tod, No. 31 ; Buck, p. 56 ; cf. Thk. i, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb. xii, 5, 6. For "mother-right", cf. A.P. vi, 265, where the poetess Nossis (of Italian Lokroï) names her mother and grandmother, not her father, in a dedication to Hera Lakinia.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. x, 5, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Aristoph., *Clouds*, 1051, and Σ quoting the epic poet Peisandros.

to fame. The adoption of Delphi as a second central point is probably later; when both the League and the oracular shrine of Apollo were increasing in fame, the former adopts the latter as its "capital", to their mutual advantage. The delegates at any rate always continued to be known as Pylagorai, "Speakers in the Gate" and not as Pythagorai "Speakers at Pytho" as one would otherwise have expected.

This was the most famous of those Greek "leagues of neighbours" for religious purposes, of which we have spoken (pp. 143, 201). Greek religion was not unethical, and the opportunity of intercourse must have fostered friendly feelings, or at least a mitigation of the early Greeks' hostility towards all "foreigners" as between the members. Hence, though warfare between member-states was frequent, the Amphiktyony has it to its credit that all were pledged never utterly to destroy, nor to cut off from its supply of running water, any member-city.<sup>1</sup> Otherwise the League as a League took political action only in defence of its shrines. It will surprise no one to find that in these crusades or "sacred Wars" economic and other not strictly religious considerations played a conspicuous part.

The advantages of membership of the Amphiktyony were sufficiently obvious and it came to include the whole of north-eastern Greece; Phokis, Lokris, Boiotia, the Ionians of Euboia, the Dorians of the four "miserable little cities"<sup>2</sup> in the glens of Oita, with the Thessalians and their six subject nations. By the use of these seven votes Thessaly could control the decisions of the League, but at what date this result was secured we have no means of judging.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aischines, *On the Embassy*, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Str. ix, 427.

<sup>3</sup> I should be inclined to suspect not until the Thessalian domination of central Greece in the early sixth century. (So, Cary, in *C.A.H.* iii, p. 604.) The argument that the subjects of the Thessalians appear nominally on level terms with their masters and that therefore the league must have won this extent while these tribes were still free (Beloch, *G.G.* I, i, p. 330, n. 3) can hardly hold. Malians and Ainianes, living close at hand, were no doubt among the earliest members, but the Thessalians were quite capable of introducing their loyal "allies", the Magnetes and Perrhaiboi, expressly in order to increase their own representation. So, too, we cannot argue that the Thessalian membership of the league is later than the creation of the Thessalian state by union of the four tetrarchies, since otherwise the names of these would

Last of all, we come to the land of Boiotia, the most civilized and to us most interesting of the states of the mainland. Here alone, as we have seen, Minoan culture had taken root in central Hellas and left the city-state as its legacy ; and Boiotia gained much also from being in close touch with the progressive and sea-minded states of Euboia and the Saronic Gulf.

Already the Homeric muster-roll knows the Boiotians as a great and numerous nation and enumerates twenty-seven townships whose warriors follow their five lords<sup>1</sup> ; but when the Boiotian League was formally organized we cannot say. It certainly was in existence in the sixth century, and in all probability was already old then. Two local gatherings helped to keep the sentiment of unity alive—one an amphiktyony at Onchestos in the territory of Haliartos, at a grove of Poseidon mentioned already in the *Iliad* and the old *Hymn to the Pythian Apollo*,<sup>2</sup> the other in honour of Athene Itonia at Itone near Koroneia, called the festival of the Pamboiotia.<sup>3</sup> The latter was thus a tribal and the former a regional festival.

In the fifth and fourth centuries the League had a federal executive in the board of eleven Boiotarchs, and we have a list, dating from about 390 B.C., of the “constituencies” by which these officers were elected.<sup>4</sup> Though this document refers to a period centuries later than ours, the evidence which it gives as to the relative importance of the different cities and parts of the country is not without interest. Seventeen places are named, nearly all of which are on the list in the

occur separately. The tetrarchies can perfectly well be, as Thessalian tradition said, groupings of the cities of an already self-conscious nation, instead of the state a group of tetrarchies ; and this is indeed suggested by the names of the tetrarchies with their uniform ending in *-ωρις*. It looks as if they were “cast in one mould” (*C.A.H.* iii, p. 603) very probably by “Aleus the Red”. The argument that Aleus cannot have organized the Federation of Thessaly, because he came from Pharsalos, and the union of Thessaly “must” have started from Thessalotis (Beloch) is, like too many of that great scholar’s arguments, altogether too arbitrary and *a priori* ; as is the argument that because Aleus is the eponymous ancestor of a family, therefore he must be mythical.

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* ii, 494 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* ii, 506 ; *H.H. Apol. Pyth.* 230 ; *Str.* ix, 412.

<sup>3</sup> *Str.* ix, 411.

<sup>4</sup> The papyrus *Hellenika Oxyrhynchia*, § xi.

Iliad. Seven Boiotarchs are elected by the communities in the south-eastern half of the country and four by those of the north-west, round the Lake Kopais. In detail the representation is : Thebes, two Boiotarchs ; Tanagra, on the east coast, one ; Thespiae, with Thisbe and Eutresis (i.e. the whole region from Thespiae to the south coast) two ; Plataia, with Skolos, Erythrai, Skaphai (i.e. the region along the Asopos) two. (But when our historian wrote, Thebes had just taken advantage of Plataia's ill-starred faithfulness to Athens in the Peloponnesian War to annex this whole strip of territory, and its representation ; thus becoming more definitely than ever the leading city of Boiotia.) In the north-west, Orchomenos and her small neighbour Hyettos together elect two ; Chaironeia, Akraiphnion and Kopai, one ; and Koroneia, Lebadeia, and Haliartos, one.

The noticeable thing here is the small share in representation enjoyed by the old and famous cities round the Lake Kopaïs. The flooding of this great hollow in the early iron age, through the blocking, by neglect or malice, of the great Minoan drainage channels, has evidently been a fatal blow to them. Representation was proportionate to a city's military contribution to the Boiotian army—100 cavalry and 1,000 hoplites, in the fourth century ; and on this basis, with so much of its northern basin under water, the centre of gravity of Boiotia definitely moves to the southern plain around Thebes. Greeks believed that this disaster had been deliberately caused as an act of war "when Herakles was fighting the Minyans of Orchomenos"<sup>1</sup>; and it may quite well be that Herakles, the Theban hero, here stands for Thebes.<sup>2</sup>

It had certainly been one of the early successes of Boiotian policy to bring Orchomenos into the League. The city is in Homer no part of Boiotia, but a separate Minyan state.<sup>3</sup> But even after its adherence, Orchomenos was never

<sup>1</sup> D.S. iv, 18; Polyainos, i, 8, 5; cf. plans in *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology*, 1935.

<sup>2</sup> Cary, in C.A.H. iii, 608.

<sup>3</sup> Il. ii, 502. On the Boiotization of Orchomenos in the age of the migrations, cf. Str. ix, 401-2.

very fervently Boiotian in spirit. With their famous past and their still considerable territory, the Orchomenians stood aloof in their inaccessible corner beyond the lake, and are more than once found pursuing a policy directly opposite to that of Thebes. Unlike most Boiotians, they took some interest in trade and the sea, as their membership of the Kalaurian amphiktyony betokens, and when in the seventh century coinage was becoming common, they struck the earliest coins in Boiotia. In pride in the fertility of their land they chose as their crest an ear of corn ; but in the interests of trade they cunningly made both this and the irregular "incuse" mark on the reverse of their coins to resemble the obverse and reverse of one of the most widely respected coins of the day—the famous "tortoises" of Aigina.<sup>1</sup>

Indeed, while Boiotia was not split by a racial division such as vexed Thessaly, its population was not by any means entirely homogeneous. Along the Attic frontier, too, it is not surprising to find such relics of the pre-Conquest population as the clan of the Gephyraioi, which ultimately retired from Tanagra to find a more congenial home in Athens, taking with them their private family Mysteries of the Earth-Goddess, Demeter the Sorrowful.<sup>2</sup> At Plataia indeed it is alleged that the whole population was of mainly aboriginal stock,<sup>3</sup> which might help to account for their aloofness from their neighbours and attachment to their Athenian alliance. But we need not try to account for the internal troubles of Boiotia mainly on racial grounds. The fact is that all the three "two-member constituencies" are found at one time or another acting contrarily to Thebes, usually with disastrous results to themselves<sup>4</sup> ; Orchomenos,

<sup>1</sup> Hill (*Historic Greek Coins*, pp. 6-7) compares later coins of Phoenician Solous in Sicily imitating those of Selinous, and of the Counts of Flanders imitating English sterling.

<sup>2</sup> Hdt. v, 81 ; cf. Str. ix, 404.

<sup>3</sup> Paus. ix, 1, 12 ; cf. Thk. iii, 61 : "P. was conquered by Boiotians later than the rest of the country."

<sup>4</sup> On Orchomenos, cf. Theokritos, xvi, 104-5. For Plataia, cf. the events of the Persian and Peloponnesian wars ; for Thespiae, those of the Persian War, and Thk. iv, 183, vi, 95 ; Xen., Hell., vi, 3, 1. Haliartos also refused to Medize and was sacked in 480 ; Paus. ix, 82, 5.

Plataia, Thespiae; and if the Thespians were not racially good Boiotians, there were none such outside Thebes.

Thespiae had grown powerful, it appears, by gathering forcibly under her wing the villages toward the south coast. One of these was Hesiod's old home at Askra. At some date unknown, the Thespians fell upon it, sacking the village and massacring the inhabitants. Thenceforth it was left desolate.<sup>1</sup> Quite naturally, the survivors of the massacre found shelter at Orchomenos, which, as a guardian of old traditions, then received an oracle bidding them re-bury Hesiod's bones in their own land.<sup>2</sup> The Thespian governing class was a warlike and aristocratic breed, sharing the Spartan and Theban contempt alike for the peasant and the artisan.<sup>3</sup> Their religion included one exceptional cult—that of Eros, the god of passionate love. This Eros had nothing to do with the conventional child of Aphrodite, the "Cupid" of mythology; and the god was represented by no statue, but by an ancient fetish—an unwrought stone.<sup>4</sup> It seems to have been a very old local cult, unassimilated to the Olympian religion. One can well imagine how congenial it might be found, alike by the brave, sensual, and narrow Boiotian squires and by Greeks of a more contemplative and thoughtful type.

Thebes has been rather unkindly treated by historians—chiefly, perhaps, because it was her fortune to be on the opposite side to the nationalist Greeks in the war described by Herodotos, to Athens in that described by Thucydides, and to Sparta in those described by Xenophon. Athenian writers and the moderns following them have spoken of Theban brutality and Boiotian stupidity, and Ephoros<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Proklos' scholium on *W.D.*, 681, quoting Plutarch.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit., quoting Aristotle, *'Ορχομενῶν Πόλιτεια*.

<sup>3</sup> Herakl. Pont., frag. 48 (Müller).

<sup>4</sup> Paus. ix, 27, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Frag. 67 (Str. ix, p. 401). Of the bad qualities of Boiotia, a quite amusing and not wholly inapposite list is given in the Paris fragments attributed to Dikaiarchos of Messene (F.H.G. ii, p. 280; § 25 of Dikai., Frag. 59, which contains a detailed but rather disappointing and unhelpful account of the country); Tanagra for envy, Thespiae for ambition; Thebes for arrogance, Anthedon (a little sea port) for covetousness, Koroneia for minding other people's business, Plataia for bragging, Onchestos for fever (near the marshes of Kopais), and Haliartos for stupidity.

describes them as losing the leadership of Greece in the fourth century because they neglected the arts of diplomacy and attended only to those of war. In this there is an element of truth. The Boiotian countryman was at a disadvantage in many respects as compared with the brilliant Athenians. Certainly if all Greeks had been like the Boiotians, Greek history would not possess its unique interest and importance; but the same might be said of practically all the states of the Greek mainland except Athens; and, indeed, of the Doric and Aiolic peoples in general. To a more sympathetic scrutiny of the little we know of them the Theban character appears to have both consistency and dignity.

At Thibes and Thespiae, in the open plain of Boiotia, we might expect to find the blood of the Boiotian conquerors predominant in the population, more than in out of the way Orchomenos or Plataia; and in fact the fair northern strain in the mongrel population of Greece does seem to have been strong in Thebes, as perhaps at Sparta.<sup>1</sup> They formed a virile and vigorous community with a strong grip on life. At Thebes suicides were held in the deepest dishonour<sup>2</sup> (a vivid contrast to that strain in Greek thought which led towards Stoicism) and infanticide—or rather, according to Greek practice, the exposure of surplus children—was forbidden. Infants that could not be reared had to be brought to the magistrates, who sold them; and the buyers were bound to bring them up, though they might have them as slaves.<sup>3</sup> Of their laws, Aristotle singles out as being unique some which were called Laws of Adoption, “concerned with the procreation of children, and aiming at preserving the number of estates.”<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately he does not tell us how this end was to be compassed, nor what the Theban

<sup>1</sup> Thebes, see Dikaiarchos (?), loc. cit., § 19. Cf. Alkman, frag. 1, 51 ff., 101, on the Spartan beauty Agesichora.

<sup>2</sup> Zenob. vi, 17, quoting Aristotle (frag. 110, Muller).

<sup>3</sup> Aelian, V.H. ii, 7.

<sup>4</sup> περὶ τῆς παιδοποίας, οὓς καλοῦσιν ἔκεῖνοι νόμους θετικούς· καὶ τοῦτ' ἐστιν ἡδῶς ὑπὸ ἔκεινοι νεομοθετημένον, ὅπως ὁ ἀριθμὸς αφίγηται τῶν κλήρων.—*Politics*, ii, 1274b.

land system was ; but we do know that Greek states and their legislators were often exercised in mind as to how to preserve the ideal number of " lots " in their territory, the ideal number being that which should produce the greatest number of landed citizens with wealth enough to let them serve the state as hoplites or cavalry. The Spartan citizen's *κλῆρος* might neither be sold nor, at his death, divided ; and even Solon of Athens, in an increasingly mercantile and individualist age, legislated to limit the amount of land that one citizen might hold.<sup>1</sup> Thus Greeks tried to curb the activities of those " who join house to house, who lay field to field ", and on the other side to prevent the growth of a poor citizen (as it were a " poor white ") class with no stake in the country and not enough property to supply itself with full armour. And as Aristotle points out on the same page, the legislator who wishes to preserve some approach to equality in landed property ought to do something about regulating the growth of population ; as in fact Pheidon, an early legislator of Corinth, had done.

The legislator at Thebes was, as a matter of fact, a Corinthian, Philolaos—by no means the only instance of a " foreign " legislator in a Greek city ; one is reminded of the medieval Italian habit of calling in a foreign knight as *podesta* of one's city in time of faction.<sup>2</sup> His date is, if not fixed, at any rate indicated as early, by a story which, though Aristotle tells it (*ad loc.*), sounds highly apocryphal. He was a Bakchiad, and the admirer of Diokles, said to have been Olympic victor in 728, who left home and went into voluntary exile to escape the incestuous passion of his mother. Philolaos shared his exile in order to be with him, and they settled at Thebes, where Philolaos won such respect that he was asked to revise their laws. The graves of the two friends were shown side by side, on a hill from which that of Philolaos seemed to look southward towards his lost home, while that of Diokles, though only a few yards away, shrank even from looking towards the country on which he had for ever turned his back.

<sup>1</sup> Ib., 1266b.

<sup>2</sup> Grote, i<sup>rd</sup>, p. 399.

The Theban government was firmly based on landed property. The landed gentleman, even the yeoman farmer, was respectable, but the artisan or trader (as at Thespiae) was not, and it was one of the necessary qualifications for holding office in Thebes that one should have taken no part in trade for at least ten years.<sup>1</sup> The land itself was, for Greece, green and well-watered—the pastureland of the useful Boiotian cavalry, the only efficient Greek mounted troops outside Ionia and Thessaly. On this social, ethical, and economic basis, Thebes formed on the whole a very stable community, with an army that was to tame both the Athenian and the Spartan in the days of their pride. One feature of this army calls for mention—the Sacred Band. This corps was also called the Charioteers and Chariot-warriors—Knights and Squires, one might paraphrase—and the archaic name presumably indicates an early origin for the regiment.<sup>2</sup> In the classical age, like the “Horsemen” who fought round the King of Sparta, they fought on foot. Each pair, each “knight and squire”, were sworn and devoted friends and comrades in arms, who were expected to, and did, hold each other’s life as their own, and prefer to die rather than willingly give ground before their friend’s eyes. There were 300 of these young soldiers at any time, who volunteered and trained to fight in the foremost ranks and to occupy any post of special peril. These bore the brunt of the attack at Delion and at Leuktra, and in other great Theban battles. Their last fight was against Philip of Macedon at Chaironeia, where the whole of them perished in their ranks to the last man.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ar. *Politics*, 1278a.

<sup>2</sup> D.S. xii, 70 (on Delion, 424 B.C.). Plutarch (*Pelopidas*, 18) describes it as first formed by Gorgidas, about 378. Diodorus is quite equal to making a mistake but, if so, whence the name ἡρίοχοι καὶ παραβάται?

<sup>3</sup> Plut., loc. cit. (the whole chapter).

## CHAPTER VII

### TRADERS AND SEA-FARERS

SO population increased again in Greece, and by the end of the eighth century it was everywhere pressing hard upon the means of subsistence. We have seen Hesiod recommending limitation of the family to one son ; and the " putting out " of unwanted babies to die quietly in a lonely place—though Thebes might forbid it by law and Sparta try to control it in the interests of eugenics —was known everywhere even in classical times as a bitter necessity. " You will be good, won't you," says Sokrates<sup>1</sup> in discussing Theaitetos' new-born theory ; " for some young mothers, if one takes away their baby, are positively ready to bite." And the legend of Atalanta<sup>2</sup> gives evidence of the same practice, back in the Heroic Age.

It is perhaps still necessary to emphasize that the great Greek colonizing movement was essentially an overflowing of surplus population—a movement of peasant cultivators and their families—in search of the land which they could not find at home. There is a tendency, based on the analogy of Renaissance and modern European expansion, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, French, British, to think of Greek city-states sending out colonies for commercial purposes to trade with or to exploit " the natives ", and it is indeed true that the growth of sea-born commerce, especially between the colonies and the motherland or through the new colonies with a barbarian hinterland, was to form the economic basis of a change, during the seventh and sixth centuries, in the whole aspect of Greek life. But this great expansion of Greek commerce was essentially a sequel, not a cause, of the colonial movement. To suppose otherwise is to exaggerate the very minor part played by trade in the social

<sup>1</sup> Plato, *Theaitetos*, p. 151c, 161a.

<sup>2</sup> Apollod. iii, 9, 2, 2, etc.

life of early Greece ; and evidence of the agrarian character of most early Greek colonization is plentiful.<sup>1</sup>

At the same time, to say that trade played a minor part in the early days of the colonial movement is not to say that it played no part at all. In the discussion of Greek, or for that matter of any other society, there are always two complementary groups of facts which one must bear in mind *simultaneously* if one's history is not to be one-sided ; the means by which the mass of the population get their living, and the means by which in progressive societies a fortunate minority rises above the subsistence level. It is a minority that thus, in every historic society, secures the leisure in which to think and plan ahead, to improve our methods of doing things, or to cultivate the beautiful in art, music, and poetry. This minority is, naturally, conspicuous out of all proportion to its numbers ; it includes all ruling groups or classes, together with their skilled craftsmen and other hangers-on. Practically all social change starts amid this group—all, in fact, except that which is stimulated by climatic change, pestilence, or other natural causes, including natural increase of population. Also, nearly all social change at least appears to affect the minority only. This class may be reinforced from below ; it may be divided within itself and indulge in constitutional struggles or civil war ; one ruling group departs and another cometh, but the peasant, like the earth that he cultivates, abideth for ever ; which is why in so many histories, especially in the past, the vast majority of the population has been almost completely ignored—or, rather, not ignored but taken for granted.

The division of the population in modern England into a

<sup>1</sup> Notice especially : great prosperity, *based on their wide territories*, of Sybaris, Kroton, Siris, Metapontion, Syracuse ; oligarchy of Land-Owners at the last-named ; Leontinoi founded *inland* ; Rhegion, Kyrene, expressly described as famine-relief settlements. For the view here taken, cf. Beloch, I, i, pp. 230-1 ; Gwynne, in *J.H.S.* xxxviii ; Hasebroek, *Trade and Politics in Anc. Greece* (Eng. translation), pp. 105 ff. ; *Gr. Wirtsch. und Gesellschaftsgeschichte*, pp. 110 ff., and *passim*. It is the great merit of Hasebroek's work that he refutes the exaggerated accounts sometimes given of commercial influence in early Greece ; though he in turn exaggerates his own case.

minority of food-growers and a huge majority of town-dwellers is so completely abnormal that we need to remind ourselves with an effort that even in contemporary Europe peasants and their families form much more than half the population. In all other continents, and in all other ages since agriculture has been known, the proportion of food-growers has been very much greater still.

In the present case, then, what is needed is that we should take account of the evidence for trade and seafaring during the Dark Age without exaggerating its importance, and above all without forgetting that the vast majority of the Greek population were workers on the land and that the governing class everywhere was a class of landowners.

Even the simplest food-growers often have a few needs which they cannot themselves supply and must therefore satisfy by trade. Salt is traded over great distances in parts of Africa; and for even earlier ages in prehistoric Europe one may quote the presence of Baltic (not Mediterranean) amber in Bronze-Age Greece, and of tridaena-shells from the Red Sea in Bronze-Age contexts far up the Danube. Presumably they were popular as charms.

Homer and Hesiod mention three kinds of trade by sea. One of these may be disregarded for our present purpose; that is, the trade mentioned by Hesiod—the casual exchange, over short distances only, of surplus market produce between farmers on this side and that side of some Aegean channel or bay. In this class of trade we may include the equally casual slave-trade mentioned by Homer—a trade in which the “goods” pass now in one direction, now in the other, between, for instance, the Greek “western isles” and Sicily.<sup>1</sup> This Hesiodic trade has no importance for the development of Greek society except that it familiarized a certain number of ordinary Greek farmers with the A B C (and not much more) of seafaring. More important for our purpose was the luxury trade, of interest only to the well-to-do minority in Greece, but of some historic significance as the medium

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* xx, 388; xxiv, 211 (Sicily to Ithaka), xiv, 335 ff. (western isles and Thesprotian mainland).

through which some Greeks first became acquainted with an art less rigid than that of their Geometric vase-painting and metal work. It is a small-scale pedling trade, in valuable goods only. When a ship that is little more than a half-decked whaleboat may remain in one port of call for a whole year, it clearly would not pay to carry bulky cargo ; but, as we have seen, slaves, bought or kidnapped, might form part of the return freight. This sort of trade is usually in the hands of Phœnicians.<sup>1</sup> Particular circumstances, such as a war in which one was not personally engaged, might make both these kinds of trade for the nonce abnormally profitable, as the Trojan war was to the King of Lemnos, when he sold an aristocratic young prisoner back to his friends at a profit of 200 per cent,<sup>2</sup> or when his folk visit the Achaians with their ships laden with wine, and take in exchange (no doubt profiteering grossly) the various kinds of plundered property of which the sea-raider camp was full. " Some of the Achaians paid for their wine with bronze, some with bright iron, some with hides, and some with the cattle themselves, and some with slaves ; and they made a noble feast."<sup>3</sup> Such an opportunity was not beneath the notice even of a king, the son of Jason the Argonaut ; the kind of trade that elsewhere rouses a young prince's contempt is the small-scale haggling business.<sup>4</sup> Business is respectable if the profit is large enough.

But of more interest to us than either of these is Homer's one famous reference to the metal trade. " I am bound," says Athene when posing as Mentes the Taphian captain, " for Temese, for copper, and my cargo is bright iron ".<sup>5</sup> The home of the Taphioi is probably round Mount Taphiassos, north of the Corinthian Gulf (where they fight with the father of Herakles in the Hesiodic poem<sup>6</sup>) ; and they range eastward as far as Sidon, where, like all Homer's trading folk, they appear in the rôle of kidnappers.<sup>7</sup> The Temese of the Mentes-passage was unknown to the ancient scholars, but

<sup>1</sup> *Od.* xv, 415 ff. (the Swineherd's Tale) ; cf. *Hdt.* i, 1 (above, p. 154).

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* xxI, 40 ff., 75 ff.      <sup>3</sup> *Il.* vii, 472 ff.      <sup>4</sup> *Od.* viii, 159 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Od.* i, 184.      <sup>6</sup> *Shield of Herakles*, 15-27.      <sup>7</sup> *Od.* xv, 427.

may well be in the copper-island of Cyprus, and the iron which Mentes is bringing from so far west *may* come ultimately from central Europe, where Hallstatt has given its name to so immensely important a region of early iron-mining and iron-working.

In the light of all this we can the better understand certain archaeological facts: the early introduction into Italy of that early Greek invention, the safety-pin<sup>1</sup>—which, once introduced, develops in sundry characteristically Italian varieties; the overrunning of Italy, especially Etruria, by an Orientalizing art, from about 800 B.C. at latest,<sup>2</sup> even before the Greek colonists bring their own art upon the scene; and—foreshadowing a stronger growth of Greek influence—the appearance of Greek eighth century Geometric pottery of pre-colonization date, in native settlements, near the “heel” of Italy round Taras<sup>3</sup>; in Bruttium, round Lokroi; in eastern Sicily,<sup>4</sup> where late Minoan pottery had preceded it; and even so far away as the coasts of Campania.<sup>5</sup> The significance of all this is particularly clearly shown, supported by an impressive marshalling of evidence, in an article by Blakeway in *B.S.A.*, xxxiii.

A remarkable series of silver bowls is conspicuous among the traces left by this eastward to westward traffic.<sup>6</sup> They are embossed in a tasteless mixed Assyrian-cum-Egyptian style reminiscent of Phoenician work, but have been found mostly in Cyprus, where they *may* have been manufactured. Strays of the series have been found eastward at Nineveh and westward in Etruria, at Caere and Praeneste; also in western Greece, at Olympia and (a bronze bowl in the same style) at Delphoi.<sup>7</sup> This series belongs mostly to the following (seventh) century. The technique was copied by native

<sup>1</sup> Blinkenberg, *Fibules*, 197–8; della Seta, *Italia Antica*, figs. 28, 37, 50.

<sup>2</sup> della Seta, op. cit., pp. 73–84; Homo, *Italie Primitive*, p. 45, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Quagliati, in *N.S.*, 1900. <sup>4</sup> Orsi, in *N.S.*, 1895, 1890, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Still unpublished. Early geometric—ninth to eighth Centuries. Beloch, *G.G.* I, ii, 228; MacIver on the contrary (*Iron Age in Italy*, pp. 165–7) denies that it is earlier than late eighth century. Cf. Blakeway in *J.R.S.*, 1935.

<sup>6</sup> Myres, s.v. Cyprus in *Enc. Brit.*<sup>11</sup>; Poulsen, *Der Orient und die Frühgriech. Kunst*.

<sup>7</sup> della Seta, op. cit., figs. 74, 75; Myres, in *J.II.S.*, liii.

Italian craftsmen, and various examples, in which the foreign influence gradually fades out, show the lineage of the decorated *situlae* of Etruscan and Venetic Italy. Another trace (somewhat later) of Cypriote concern with this same traffic is the presence among the Greeks of Cyprus of a word *sigunon* or *sibunion*<sup>1</sup> (evidently it contained the *q*-sound that the Greeks could not pronounce) to designate a peculiar pilum-like spear or javelin; for the name, and presumably the weapon, is derived from a people, the Sigynnae, a pony-breeding, trousered, Iranian-seeming folk known to Herodotos as living near the Danube "beyond the Enetoi (Veneti) of the Adriatic". (They must have been a wandering, gipsy-like folk. They are also reported (by a poet) as living near the mouths of the Danube<sup>2</sup> and by the learned and reliable Strabo (xi, p. 520), who echoes Herodotos' account of their ponies and their Persian traits, in the Caucasus<sup>3</sup>; and they were also known, in Herodotos' time, as peddlars, to "the Ligurians up-country from Marseilles".<sup>4</sup>)

<sup>1</sup> Ar. *Poetics*, 21: τὸ σίγυνον, Κυπρίοις μὲν κύριον, ἡμῖν δὲ γλῶττα. The spellings οιβύνη, ζιβύνη, σιγυνον, also occur. On this whole subject, see Myres, in the *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. Rhod., iv, 320.

<sup>3</sup> The number of tribal names that recur in or near the Caucasus and also farther west is astonishing; Sigynnae, Ibercs, Ligyes (Ligurians), Achaioi, Enetoi (Veneti); also the Bebrykes, a tribe of northern Asia Minor that had disappeared in historic times but figures in the Argonaut saga. (That the Bebrykes were Thracians is merely an inference from the ethnology of the region in historic times: Strabo, xii, 541-2.) For western Bebrykes see "Skymnos", l. 201, Avienus, l. 485, Silius Italicus, iii, 442, Tzetzes on Lykophron 516 and 1305. One coincidence would count for nothing, but the odds against such a six-fold coincidence are 2<sup>6</sup> times as great. The problem awaits archaeological exploration of the Caucasus region; but there are already some traces of parallelism in culture between that region and the western side of the steppe, and even central Europe, in the late Bronze and early Iron Ages. (Cf. Peake, *Bronze Age and the Celtic World*, pp. 118 ff.) If the recurring names are the result of migration into both regions from a common centre, it follows that the names Iberes, Ligyes, etc., in the West are not names of the aboriginal populations but of immigrant conquerors; which in itself is not unlikely. Cf. the modern use of the name Celt—and incidentally the splitting of Celtic tribes by their migrations: Atrebates, Belgae, Brigantes, Parisli on the continent and in Britain (for Brigantii in the Alps, cf. Str. iv, 206) and Tectosages actually in the eastern Galatia and in Aquitaine! (Str. iv, 187 ff.; xli, 566 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> Hdt. v, 9.

Yes, Cypriotes almost certainly took part in this traffic past the Aegean, to the West.

To the same movement clearly belongs the appearance of a Phoenician type of axe, most curiously, in a well defined area in Epeiros within which it must have become almost the national weapon<sup>1</sup>; and here at least we are almost certainly in touch with a metal-trade, for the mountainous country was too barren and barbarous to export much else.

What other Greeks, if any, may have traded with the West in the Dark Age, the archæological record does not enable us to say; but clearly we have now got before us the context to which belong the literary accounts of the tin-trading of the mysterious Midakritos, and of the interest taken by Midas of Phrygia in the port of Kyme and even in Delphoi (pp. 180-1).

Rhodians also were said to have fared afield successfully "many years before the first Olympiad"<sup>2</sup> and to have colonized extensively in the west. The vagueness of the account does not inspire confidence; Strabo may have got it from Kastor the Rhodian's *History of Sea-Power*, in which case an allowance must be made for local patriotism; and when he claims a Rhodian origin for the much later Massalian settlement of Rhode on the coast of Spain, we may suppose that the claim is a pure guess based on that most facile of all methods of pseudo-archæological reasoning, the identification of similar geographical names. Unsupported also, though not impossible, is the claim that Rhodians and Köans colonized "Elpiae, among the Daunians" (Salapia, the port of Arpi and Canusium) which is elsewhere ascribed to the hero Diomedes.<sup>3</sup> The reference to a settlement on

<sup>1</sup> See R. Vulpé in *Proceedings of the London Prehistory Congress*, 1932, pp. 101-2.

<sup>2</sup> Str. xiv, 654.

<sup>3</sup> Str. loc. cit.; Vitruvius, i, 39; cf. Justin, xx, 1, Timaios, frag. 18. The legend took firm root, and was accepted by the natives themselves: the Veneti sacrificed white horses to Diomedes, and had a grove sacred to "Argive Hera", Str. v, p. 215. It may well have been introduced by Rhodians, who were by way of being "Argive colonists"; if not by their kinsmen of Knidos, who were interested in the Adriatic in the sixth century. But the eighth-century Greek pottery is too early for this Knidian movement.

the site of the later Sybaris, on the other hand, is given some colour by the evidence of the (late, and artificially reconstructed) Temple-chronicle of Lindos,<sup>1</sup> showing at any rate contact between Lindos and Sybaris a little later ; and when we hear of a Rhodian post “at Parthenope, among the Opikoi”, the archaic phrase almost carries conviction ; a later writer inventing such a detail would almost certainly have spoken not of “Oscans” but of Campanians, the usual fifth-century and later designation. And once more, the eighth-century Greek pottery from near Taras, near Lokroi, and a little, still earlier, from near Manfredonia, helps to confirm this weak and nebulous literary tradition.<sup>2</sup>

In the light of all this it is probably no coincidence that Cypriotes, Phrygians, and Rhodians, as well as Phoenicians, are credited with “ruling the sea” for a few decades apiece, during the Dark Ages, by that curious and artificial document, Diodoros’ “list of thalassocracies” as preserved by Eusebios. We cannot, however, claim this as independent confirmation of the other traditions, in view of the possibility that all alike are derived from Kastor.

Rhodians, Cypriotes, Phrygians, or rather Kymaians, as well as Phoenicians, ply then, all alike, in pursuit of the metal-trade, especially that, probably, in iron and tin—tin, so necessary to a civilization still in the main bronze-using—along the Taphian seaway westwards. No Greek community and very few individuals depended upon trade for their living ; the historical importance of this probably very limited early trade is that when the growing Greek population overflowed, the traders were available to guide the colonizing swarms. No doubt the traders were delighted on their own account with the prospect of having colonies of their countrymen planted at what for them would be convenient revictualling stations. This accounts for some early colonies which have the air of having been pushed forward like

<sup>1</sup> Entry No. xxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Blakeway, op. cit., in *B.S.A.* xxxiii. Most of these sherds seem to show some affinity to the Cretan and Cycladic Geometric fabrics, in which case they may very well have come to the West in Rhodian shipping.

outposts, as far afield as possible, instead of settling at the nearest possible point. Cumæ is the most notable example. Just a few of the men of old Kyme in Asia knew the coast of Campania and sang its praises, we may suppose, to the land-hungry peasant emigrants. In this way, and in this only, was the early Greek colonizing movement affected by considerations of trade.

In the course of this early sea-faring, an important revolution in ship-building had taken place. Firstly, some time in the warlike days between the end of the Minoan Age and the Greek Renaissance, the warship had been differentiated from the ship of burden. Long and low and rakish, with a sharp ram down on the waterline, narrow and shallow of draft, capable of being driven at a high speed by her twenty-five oars aside, the up-to-date fighting ship contrasted sharply with the old high-stemmed ships of the sea-raiders defeated by Rameses III, and also from the round-bellied merchantman, built to carry cargo, relying for propulsion almost wholly on her sails, and carrying only a few sweeps for occasional manœuvring. Such warships were emphatically not good ships to live in, and were difficult and unseaworthy in bad weather; highly specialized ships, in fact. Since commerce and commerce-protection, as we have seen, were not primary interests of state, we may suppose that the Greek states built these ships for defence against the descents of "viking" sea-robbers on their coasts. To let such marauders descend out of the blue, plunder, and retire before a defending army has gathered (as Odysseus could have done when he raided the Kikones<sup>1</sup>) was clearly no way to deter the nuisance. Better pursue them on their own element with these swift new long-ships, whose beaks will crash through any timbers—using the whole ship as a weapon, instead of trusting to the bloody hazards of boarding, or shooting arrows at a moving target from an unsteady platform. Conversely, if one wished to invade an oversea enemy who possessed the new long-ships, one's armament when at sea would be a helpless prey unless conveyed in or at least escorted by vessels equally fast.

<sup>1</sup> *Od. ix. 42 ff.*

On the other hand, to outmanœuvre and ram a long-ship with a long-ship required, if one met the enemy on equal terms, a great superiority in nautical skill. Sixth-century Chiens or Phœnicians or fifth-century Athenians might attempt it with success, but as a rule early Greek fleet-actions tended to be fought out at close quarters with sword and spear, with the whole fleets driven together in one grinding, splintering mass.<sup>1</sup> But the new ships spread everywhere; even a state rather backward in seaward expansion, like Athens, had them and was proud of them, as we may see from their appearance on the big Dipylon vases, early in the eighth century B.C.

Naturally, the longest long-boats, up to a point, would be the swiftest. A fifty-oared ship was faster than a thirty-oared. But if one went much beyond that point the boat became so long as to be unwieldy and also fragile and apt to break her back; while if one made her broader in the beam and of stouter timbers, a law of diminishing returns began to operate—the weight increased more quickly than the rowing-power. (The Norsemen, by the way, with their more robust ocean-going long-ships, came to a standstill at much the same point. Olaf Tryggvesson's *Long Serpent*, the culmination of a long series of experiments in the effort to build the world's finest warship, still carries only thirty-four oars aside.<sup>2</sup>) It was probably among the Phœnicians that some ingenious persons solved the problem of the moment by the invention of the *bireme*. In this vessel an additional oarsman was placed between but some thirty inches below each two of those in the upper rank. A man in the lower tier could fall back between the legs of the man behind and above him, whose oar, on coming forward, cleared his head; while the lower man's head and oar had just to clear the bench of the man above and in front of him. The lower oars passed through portholes, while the upper rowers rowed, as in the old pentekonters, over the gunwale and might be

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Thk. I, 49, on the "old-fashioned" tactics used at Sybota as late as 488.

<sup>2</sup> *Heimskringla. Olaf Tryggvesson's Saga* (tr. Laing), chaps. 79, 87, 95.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Thk. i, 49, on the "old-fashioned" tactics used at Sybota as late as 483.

\* *Heimskringla. Olaf Tryggvesson's Saga* (tr. Laing), chaps. 79, 87, 95.

more or less protected by shields hung over the side, as may be seen on a well-known ivory plaque (not depicting a bireme) from Sparta.

The contrast between bireme and "round" ship is finely depicted on an Assyrian relief in the British Museum, dating from the seventh century, when Assyrian overlordship was acknowledged by Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Egypt; and also on an Athenian black-figure vase of the sixth century in the same museum. (The ships on Dipylon vases are, of course, not biremes; the second row of oarsmen there represents the rowers on the far side—just as, in a funeral procession, the Geometric convention shows both wheels of each two-wheeled chariot, and the bier, and the corpse, as well as the pall that covers it.)

Before long, the next step had been taken and, by some still more economical way of packing the oarsmen, the trireme was evolved. This also, according to a late but sensible and learned writer, was done in Phoenicia—at Sidon.<sup>1</sup> Precisely how the oars were now arranged is not known, however. The new arrangement was too complicated in appearance to be a favourite in art, and the one fragment of an Athenian relief which is, apparently, meant to depict a trireme, is not helpful. Probably the men were somehow echeloned in threes, one nearer the centre-line of the ship than the next, as well as on a different level; but this is guess-work. One thing is certain: a trireme did not mean in Greece what it did in medieval Venice, namely a ship in which three men pulled one sweep. In the Greek trireme it was one man, one oar, as a passage in Thucydides shows,<sup>2</sup> whatever may have happened in later quinqueremes.

These elaborate and expensive ships did not, however, replace the simple *pentekonter* in Greek navies for a long time. Corinth may have had some of the new "super-dreadnoughts" by 700 B.C., but the passage of Thucydides<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Clement of Alexandria, *Stromateis*, I, xvi, 65.

<sup>2</sup> ii, 93: in the march of the Corinthian sailors overland across the Isthmus before Brasidas' raid on Salamis: "each man carried his oar and cushion and rowlock thong."

<sup>3</sup> i, 18.

usually held to assert this is not quite unambiguous : " It is said that the Corinthians were the first to approach the modern style of ship-building, and that Corinth was the first place in Greece where triremes were built ; and we find Amcinokles, a Corinthian ship-builder, building four *ships* for the Samians. It is about 300 years, from the end of this war, since Ameinokles went to Samos." It is not perfectly certain from this that Ameinokles' ships were triremes, though it is probable. A little later, the historian adds the important detail that even the most powerful sixth-century navies—those of Polykrates of Samos, or Phokaia—were composed chiefly of pentekonters, with a few triremes only ; and that it was not long before the Persian War and the death of Darius that the Sicilian tyrants, Korkyra, and then Athens under Themistokles acquired large numbers of these ships.

The Phoenician colonization of the West antedates the Greek ; though Thucydides' statement (vi, 2) that Phoenician " factories " once existed all round the coasts of Sicily " occupying headlands and islands for the sake of trade with the Sikels " may be doubted. In all the east of the island, in all Signor Orsi's patient and long-continued excavations, not a single Punic burial has yet been discovered ; creating a strong presumption that no Phoenicians were ever permanently in residence there. Thucydides' authority for his few paragraphs on the peoples of Sicily—perhaps Antiochos of Syracuse—probably, then, invented the theory merely on *a priori* grounds, from the general impression that Phoenicians had everywhere preceded Greeks in the West, reinforced merely by a few place-names such as Phoinike, Phoinikoessa (or -oussa) which mean simply " Palm-Tree Point " or the like. At the same time, I cannot fully share Dr. Beloch's complete scepticism about all the traditions of early Phoenician activity in the West.<sup>1</sup> We have to remember the Phoenicians of the *Odyssey*, and to account for the fact that Oriental and Cypriote merchandise

<sup>1</sup> " Die Phoeniker am Westlichen Mittelmeer " : G.G. I, ii, xxii. Meyer on the Phoenicians, in his *Gesch. des Altertums*, II, ii, is much more moderate.

appears in Italy in plenty at a time when Greek commerce was a very small affair and Greek colonization had not yet begun.

It is important to grasp the character of the Phœnician expansion, which contrasts sharply with the Greek. It was primarily commercial. The Phœnicians were never a numerous people (they evidently got rid of surplus children with less compunction than Greeks; children were an acceptable sacrifice to some of their gods); and from a very early date their cities really were dependent on trade for their food-supply, their very existence, as the Greek states, until long after the Hesiodic age, were not. Phœnicia's food came from the Israelite or Arabian Hinterland; wheat, oil, wine, and honey, from Israel and Judah,<sup>1</sup> sheep and goats from "Arabia and Kedar",<sup>2</sup> in exchange for fish,<sup>3</sup> large timber ("cedars of Lebanon" when King Solomon was building his temple) and no doubt also high-class textiles<sup>4</sup> and the metals which the "ships of Tarshish" brought from over sea.<sup>5</sup> (The slave trade, like that between Greece and Sicily in the *Odyssey*, flowed both ways.<sup>6</sup> If one was selling a fellow-countryman as a slave one preferred not to see him again.) The Phœnician towns were tiny, though no doubt packed with inhabitants. Tyre, on its island rock, had a rigidly limited area of less than 190 acres—which must needs include fortifications, streets, temples, and public buildings. And the rock, further, was actually completely waterless. "Water is carried to it in boats," as the old Egyptian humorist said.<sup>7</sup> Arvad was

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings v, 9 (Solomon and Hiram), Ezekiel, xxviii, 17; cf. for a later age, *Acts* xii, 20; Tyre and Sidon "were nourished by" Herod's country, i.e. Galilee.

<sup>2</sup> Ezek. ib. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Nehemiah, xiii, 16.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Ezek., loc. cit., 18: Damascus supplies wine and wool "by reason of the multitude of thy handiworks"—i.e. taking manufactures in exchange.

<sup>5</sup> "Silver, iron, tin, and lead" from Tarshish, ib. 12: "vessels of bronze from Javan (Yawan, *YaFov*—Ionia) Tubal and Meshech (Moschoi—Phrygia), ib. 18.

<sup>6</sup> Ionia and Meshech also send "the persons of men", ib.; while in Joel iii, 6, Tyre and Sidon are cursed for having "sold the children of Judah and Jerusalem to the sons of the Grecians, that ye might remove them far from their border".

<sup>7</sup> Papyrus Anastasi, i; (c. 1400 b.c.).

even smaller, and depended for its water supply on a spring of fresh water that gushed up hard by, actually under the sea.<sup>1</sup>

With a limited and almost stationary population, and relying for their food on their symbiosis with the inland peasants, the Phoenicians had no vigorous peasant population of their own eager for more land. This, to anticipate a little, accounts very largely for the fact that they almost invariably got on with the natives of the western Mediterranean regions much better than the Greeks did. Greeks coveted the natives' land; the Phoenicians did not. Phœnicians came only to trade, and where possible were prepared to take native food—and pay for it. It follows that nearly all Phœnician daughter-states were minute, and as a rule had independent natives almost at their doors. They were simply entrepôts or trading "factories" to which the natives could bring their goods, to be called for during the sailing season by the "ships of Tarshish". Even great and imperial Carthage—forced to become imperial by the "European menace"—was still paying rent down to the sixth century for the ground the city was built on<sup>2</sup>; and even in the third century, her greatest age, the territory under her direct rule in Africa remains astonishingly small for a state that disputed for empire against the Italian confederacy under Rome. It was, indeed, nothing more than sheer lack of native Phœnician man-power that lost her that struggle.

We can now see why the earliest Phœnician colony that could possibly be called a city was the remotest of them all—Gadcs or Gaddir, the Greek Gadeira and modern Cadiz, whose name simply means "the walled place"—"Town", in fact, in the original meaning of the English word: *nam Punicorum lingua consaeptum locum Gaddir vocabat.*<sup>3</sup> For trading with the nearer West, little informal "factories"

<sup>1</sup> Str. xvi, 754. Pliny, *N.H.*, v, 128.

<sup>2</sup> Justin, xix, 1, 3. Strabo's passing allusion (iii, 158) to Tyrian conquests "before the Carthaginian conquests" in Spain is unsupported, and alien to all else that we know of early Phœnician history. Due, perhaps, to the typically European misconception that colonization must imply conquest.

<sup>3</sup> Avienus, *Ora Maritima*, 268-9.

would do, or even well-known ports of call without any permanent Phœnician occupation at all<sup>1</sup>; but Spain was too distant for such methods. The voyage over the whole length of the Mediterranean was a matter of months (the fourth century sailing book that goes under the name of Skylax of Karyanda gives seventy-four days from the western edge of the Egyptian delta to the Straits of Gibraltar, still a day short of Gades<sup>2</sup>; but that is following the coast all the way. With the very best conditions of wind and weather, by sailing day and night, the stage from Carthage to the Straits could be done in a week<sup>3</sup>; it is something like 900 miles). And the metal trade with Spain was immensely profitable. Phœnicians felt it would be criminal to risk losing any consignments of silver and tin that the natives might bring down to the coast at a time when the traders, with an eye on the calendar, might have already departed to get home before the autumn gales.

So Gades was founded as an entrepot where metal might be traded at any time and shipped home during the sailing season. Twice, we are told, the colonists' nerve failed and they come home with tales of unfavourable omens in their sacrifices<sup>4</sup>; but at the third attempt "the Town" was founded, in a safe place on an island divided from the shore by a narrow channel "more like a river than an arm of the sea".<sup>5</sup> Typically Phœnician, it was never a big place<sup>6</sup>; the small size of the old Town, as contrasted with its Roman extension, astonished Strabo when he thought of the fame of its sailors; but its wealth was enormous; he adds that in a recent Roman census no less than 500 of its citizens had the property qualification that gave them the status of knights.

Not long after, an advanced base on the way to Spain was also founded, in Africa—perhaps also to do for Libya, as a permanent entrepôt, what Gades was doing for Spain.

<sup>1</sup> Such as are presupposed in Herodotus' account of the "Silent Trade" on the coast of Africa (based, of course, on the western colonies), iv, 196.

<sup>2</sup> § 111.

<sup>3</sup> Ib.

<sup>4</sup> Str. iii, 169–170.

<sup>5</sup> Pomponius Mela, iii, 6.

<sup>6</sup> Str. iii, 168.

This was Utica. The other Phoenician settlements, of which we know so little until their names appear in Skylax and later geographers, and the cities themselves in the archaeology of Roman Africa, appear to have been even smaller than Gades ; that is to say, they remained mere "factories", at least until the Carthaginian imperial age.

As to the date of all this, the ancient writers believed that it was very early in the Dark Age ; "soon after the fall of Troy," says Strabo (i, 48) ; Gades and Utica are supposed to have been founded in 1100 and 1087 B.C. respectively,<sup>1</sup> no doubt on the authority of the Tyrian chronicles.<sup>2</sup> How far these can be trusted on this matter, it is quite impossible for us to say ; archaeological confirmation is lacking, but in view of the small size of these Phoenician outposts and their extraordinary poverty in art this is not very surprising. And the Phoenician voyages, especially in search of the metals, for which Asia offered an insatiable demand, may be presumed to have begun, as we should gather from Homer, and as the chronicles evidently said, soon after the Minoan debacle and the breakdown of the Minoan carrying trade. Very probably, however, the editors of these chronicles, if one may suppose that like the Old Testament histories they suffered redaction from time to time, or even Menandros of Ephesos himself, may have thrown back the foundation of Gades and Utica (showing the usual passion for antiquity) to a date really that of the first exploration of those lands. The answer to the question how Tartessos can have been a virgin market when Kolaios the Samian discovered it by accident, quite late in the seventh century, and made his fortune, is presumably that Kolaios struck a different part of the coast.

There is at any rate no basis whatever for the statement sometimes made, that Hiram, the ally of Solomon, in the

<sup>1</sup> Velleius, I, 2, 4. Cf. Eduard Meyer (*Gesch. d. Alt. II*, ii, p. 79, n. 2 ; pp. 83-4 and nn.) who criticizes Beloch's extreme scepticism, *G.G.* I, ii, § 96.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the pseud-Aristotelian *Book of Wonders*, ch. 134, which cites a Phoenician source. For the existence and value of these chronicles, cf. Joseph., *Antiq.* viii, ii, 7 ; *Against Apion*, i, 17, 20 (using Menandros of Ephesos). It may be noted that the temple and priests of Melkarth, with the king and his court, were spared in the sack of Alexander.

tenth century reduced Utica to obedience to Tyre after a rebellion. The manuscripts of Josephus<sup>1</sup> read variously *Eὐχιοι* or *Tίτιοι*, and to "restore" *Iτυκαῖοι*, for the sake of basing on this guess a further theory that tenth century Phoenicians conducted military operations across more than a thousand miles of sea, is a piece of what can only be described as wantonness: especially since there was in fact a tribe called the Euchians actually in Phœnicia!

More circumstantial and probably more authentic is the account given to us in the same passage of Josephus of the foundation (about 813 B.C.<sup>2</sup>) by Elissa or Dido (both good Semitic names; the latter is cognate with "David") of the city appointed to so great and tragic a destiny, Carthage. And it is characteristic that it owed its foundation to merely personal and political causes. Dido fled with a body of her adherents after her husband had fallen a victim to a dynastic conspiracy, as we hear from Pompeius Trogus (via Justin, xviii) and also in the version of the story taken up by Virgil. They settled near Utica, and, such was the scale of Phœnician colonization, the presence of Dido's partisans, who cannot have been numerous, was enough to make their settlement far the greatest among its sisters.

There is a story that when the natives were unwilling to part with land to build on, Dido asked for "just so much as this ox-hide will encompass" and, when it was granted, cut the hide into long strips and with them encompassed her citadel, which was thence called Byrsa "the Hide".<sup>3</sup> It is a pure fable, being in fact an etiological tale to account for the Greek form of the name (really a corruption of the Phœnician Bostra or Bozrah, familiar in the Old Testament as the name of the capital of Edom); but it deserves mention as a matter of interest—among other things, because the story is furbished up again in the Middle Ages to be told of Hengist, Horsa, and the foolish Vortigern.

The city as a whole was merely called, in the usual dull

<sup>1</sup> *Against Apion*, i, 17, 18.

<sup>2</sup> Date also in Timaios (frag. 21), ap. D.H. i, 74.

<sup>3</sup> Justin, xviii, 5, 9.

unimaginative Phoenician manner, Karti-hadasti ; New Town ; Carthago.

Entirely different is the story of the land-hungry colonial expansion of the Greeks.

"There is an island that stretches along outside the harbour, neither close to the Cyclopes' land nor very far away, a wooded isle ; and in it are countless goats, running wild ; for no tread of man restrains them, nor do huntsmen go there, who suffer hardship in the wild woods and go among the craggy hills. Nor is it held by flocks, nor by plough-land, but always unploughed and unsown it lies virgin, and pastures the bleating goats. For the Cyclopes have no red-cheeked ships, nor are there carpenters among them to fashion them oared vessels, that should do all this for them—to go to the cities of men, as oft men go to each other, sailing over the sea. They would have made that island a fair habitation ; for it is no bad land, and would bear all crops in season. There are soft well-watered meadows along the shores of the grey sea, where vines would grow, never failing ; and level plough-land, where the crops would be deep at the time of reaping, for there is richness in that soil. And there is a splendid harbour where there is no need of cables nor of casting anchor-stones, nor to make fast ropes from the stern ; but one might ground his ship and wait until the sailors' hearts bid them go and winds blow fair. And there is excellent water at the head of the harbour—a spring in a cave ; and round it poplars grow. There we came to land, and some god led us, through the dark night ; for there was thick darkness over us, and no moon showed, but it was hidden in clouds ; and no one sighted the island, nor did we see the long waves rolling to the shore, until our good ships ran aground. And having grounded them we took down all the sails and disembarked ourselves, by the surf of the sea ; and there we lay down to sleep and awaited the bright dawn."<sup>1</sup>

Thus the shipwrecked sailor to his rescuers, about the desert island he found ; it is a striking reminder of the

<sup>1</sup> *Od. ix, 116 ff.*

emptiness of much of the western Mediterranean world in those days—especially the smaller islands ; and throughout, the emphasis is on that point—what a good island it would be for men to inhabit. So too, Thucydides, on the beginnings of Greek imperialism : “They used to sail and conquer the islands—especially those whose territory was insufficient for them.”<sup>1</sup> The snapping-up of hitherto unconsidered trifles in the Aegean itself, with or without the goodwill of their small existing populations, was an obvious palliative or temporary cure for the malaise of over-population. So, Megara colonized Astypalaia in the south-east Aegean,<sup>2</sup> Samos (quite late in the seventh century) the fertile island of Amorgos close by,<sup>3</sup> Miletos Leros close to her own sea-gates and Ikaria a little further afield.<sup>4</sup> Chalkis took the islands north of Euboia, Peparethos, Ikos and Skiathos<sup>5</sup> ; while in the west, Achaians from the Peloponnese spread to Zakynthos.<sup>6</sup> But such morsels could not long satisfy the growing land-hunger, made all the keener by a land-system under which, as we presently hear from Athens, “the whole land was in the hands of a few,”<sup>7</sup> so that while many went short a few had more than they needed.

By the middle of the seventh century land-hunger had overcome inertia on all sides, and from almost every maritime state of Greece the colonists are faring afield. The immediate cause of the origin of any colony may be political ; the colonists are often a dissident minority like our Pilgrim Fathers ; their leader may be a nobleman for some reason discontented or in disgrace ; but the universality of the movement, starting independently in so many quarters, can leave one in no doubt that its main springs are economic.

Already in Hesiod, or in the poems ascribed to him, we find the Greek horizon widening. “The Ethiops and Libyans and mare-milking Scyths”<sup>8</sup>—these are now the

<sup>1</sup> Thk. i, 15.

<sup>2</sup> Sk. 551.

<sup>3</sup> Suidas on Simonides of Amorgos (Semonides).

<sup>4</sup> Str. xiv, 635.

<sup>5</sup> Sk. 580 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Thk. ii, 66.

<sup>7</sup> Ar., Ath. Pol., 2.

<sup>8</sup> Str. vii, 800 reads *Aitvus*, Ligurians ; Ox. Pap. 1358, 2 (Loeb, edn., appendix, pp. 602-3) *Aitvus*, which is *a priori* much more probable.

ends of the earth. He knows them by name and adds details to Homer's vague reference to the "lordly Mare-Milkers",<sup>1</sup> such as that "they have waggons for their homes".<sup>2</sup> He enumerates the Black Sea rivers<sup>3</sup>: Sangarios, and "Istros' noble stream", and Phasis, through which the crew of Argo brought their ship into the outer deep — the "stream of Ocean" that encompasses all the lands.<sup>4</sup> So also at Corinth, Eumelos the Bakchiad poet, naming his (three) Muses after rivers, called one of them by the name of the far-off Dnieper, Borysthenis.<sup>5</sup> Westward too, Hesiod has heard of the "Great Cape" Peloros,<sup>6</sup> of the Sicilian Straits, of the "Quail Island", Ortygia,<sup>7</sup> where the great city of Syracuse was to rise, and of Mount Etna.<sup>8</sup> And there is an amusing piece of garbled geography in his mention of two children of Odysseus and Kirke: "Agrios—'Wild Man'—and Latinos, who reigned over all the famed Tyrrhenians, very far off in the midst of the holy isles."<sup>9</sup> It is the first appearance in Greek literature of the Etruscans, and the first appearance in any writing of the Latin name. The knowledge of the farther West is clearly much more hazy than that of eastern Sicily. Italy is thought to be an archipelago, as America was for a generation after Columbus (in both cases the first settlers settled on islands) and the lines about Tyrrhenia would have made the lords of central Italy indignant. Latinos, King of Etruria, forsooth!

To the south-east Hesiod's knowledge is much fuller; as is natural, for with the Levant even in the darkest age, touch had never quite been lost. Homer knows of Sidon,<sup>10</sup> of Egypt with its mighty river,<sup>11</sup> of Egyptian Thebes with its vast wealth; his do-nothing Lotos-Eaters are plausibly localized in Cyrenaica, with its date-palms and its fertile soil;

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* xiii, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ephorus, ap. Str. vii, 302.

<sup>3</sup> *Theogony*, 380–345.

<sup>4</sup> Σ on Ap. Rh. ix, 284.

<sup>5</sup> Σ on Hesiod, *W.D.*, 1. The reading, however, it should be noted, is conjectural; βαρύθεντος, Ἐρυθεντος, Ωρυθεντος, MSS.

<sup>6</sup> D.S. iv, 85.

<sup>7</sup> O.P. 1858, 2, 26: cf. Eratosthenes, ap. Str. i, 28.

<sup>8</sup> Eratosthenes, loc. cit.; *Theog.*, 860. <sup>9</sup> *Theog.* 1013–15.

<sup>10</sup> *Il.* vi, 291, etc.

<sup>11</sup> *Od.* xvii, 427, etc.

and from Egypt probably come the stories of Pygmies<sup>1</sup> (the Pharaohs often kept these as pets), and of the "blameless Black-Faery",<sup>2</sup> the dark-skinned theocratic Nubians whose kings were holy and held familiar intercourse with high gods. Hesiod in addition to these mentions the Troglodytes, *Kerendaios*,<sup>3</sup> who dwell in holes in the ground - perfectly good north Africans, or for that matter prehistoric Europeans -- and the Dog-Men, *Hylkures*,<sup>4</sup> who probably come from tales of African baboons. And he knows Homer's river of Egypt by its name, the Nile.<sup>5</sup> In Asia, he names an eponym of the Arabs, Arabos,<sup>6</sup> a grandson of "the lord Belos"; and Belos is either Bel of Babylonia or possibly the Phoenician Baal, "our Lord."

All this the ancient scholars quote from "Hesiod"; no doubt if we knew more about the Hesiodic poems doubts would be cast on this or that attribution and on this or that reading; but for most of the attributions we have at any rate the authority of respectable ancient writers like Eratosthenes and Strabo. There can be little doubt that most of these names of far-off lands were known to Greek poets at any rate not long after 700, when the writers of "catalogue" epics were still active. The dark ages are drawing to a close. The stage is set for the Greek expansion and renaissance.

<sup>1</sup> *Il.* iii, 6; cf. Hesiod, *O.P.* 1858, 2, 18 (mentioned along with "Aithiopes and Black-skins") and *Str.* i, 43.

<sup>2</sup> *Il.* i, 423, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Frag. 43, Loeb; in Philodemos the Epicurean, *On Piety*, 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Str.* i, 43.

<sup>5</sup> Named first in the catalogue of rivers (*Theog.* 337 ff.); followed in order by Alpheios, the half-mythical Eridanos, Strymon, "Maeander," Danube, Phasis.

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## CHAPTER VII

## THE PHœNICIANS; THE BEGINNINGS OF GREEK EXPANSION

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Personal and local names from periods and regions other than Greece in the Hesiodic age (between the Dorian migrations and the colonization of Sicily) are not automatically indexed, but a selection is given with a view to supplementing the subject-index.

Within the time and space covered by the book, bare allusions are not necessarily indexed; otherwise all proper names are recorded.

The names of authors are indexed, as a rule, only where their views are discussed or their words quoted in the text.

Quantities have been indicated in the manner used by Grote, i.e. by marking long vowels (other than diphthongs and final -e, -o, and -es (singular), which are always long) with a circumflex: à, ê, etc.

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